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THE
ESSEX INSTITUTE
HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

VOL. LXXXI — 1945

ISSUED QUARTERLY



SALEM, MASS.

PRINTED FOR THE ESSEX INSTITUTE

SALEM, MASS.
NEWCOMB & GAUSS CO., PRINTERS
1945

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PRINTED FOR THE ESSEX INSTITUTE

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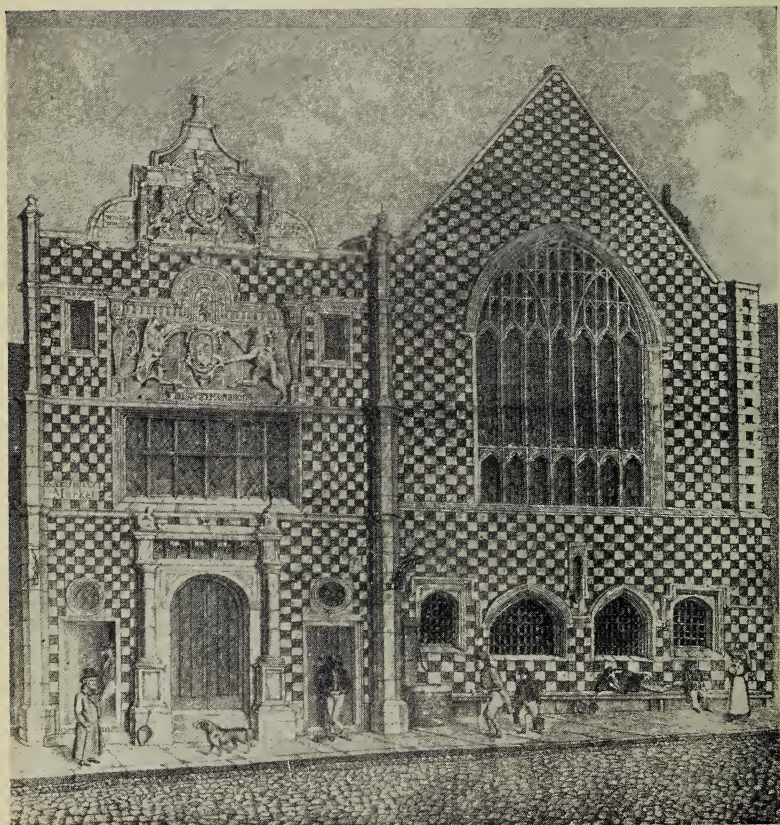
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The HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS are published quarterly in January, April, July and October, each volume containing a complete index. Yearly subscription, \$3.00. The Essex Institute disavows responsibility for the positions taken by contributors to its pages.

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GUILDHALL IN KING'S LYNN, ENGLAND

where Benjamin N. Johnson was entertained when he visited there for the purpose of inviting Marchioness Townshend, the Mayoress, to attend the Tercentenary of the Massachusetts Lynn, in 1929, as guest of Mayor Bauer. The Mayoress was present on this occasion. A stone from this old building now decorates our Lynn Historical Society.

ESSEX INSTITUTE

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

VOL. LXXXI

JANUARY, 1945

No. 1

NAMESAKE TOWNS OF OUR ESSEX COUNTY

BY ALLAN FORBES

This chapter contains the second series of namesake towns in Essex County, to be followed later by a third and final group.

A good deal of material has been discovered chiefly through the assistance of persons residing in the fifteen towns of Essex County, and the author wishes to thank those who have made this second article possible: J. Sanger Attwill, Charles Sumner Bird, Edward D. Brown, Rev. J. G. Cairns, Harrison C. Cann, Rev. R. A. Cartwell, Mrs. R. T. Crane, Jr., Winifred E. Deighton, Mrs. L. C. Fenno, Amos E. Jewett, Mrs. John J. Kelley, Miss Mary Jane Kelley, Mrs. Carrie B. Ladd, Earl M. Lawrence, Miss Helen Luitwieler, Ben P. P. Moseley, Mrs. George W. Pettengill, J. K. Prentice, Miss Grace M. Prest, Miss Alice Preston, E. T. Rowe, Arthur A. Shurcliff, Mrs. Sidney Shurcliff, Miss Alice C. Tuck, Miss Katharine F. Sullivan and Walter R. Whiting.

I wish especially to acknowledge the help given me by Ralph M. Eastman in reviewing and editing the manuscript, and by Miss Katherine G. Rogers in connection with the typing and handling of the material. I also wish to express my appreciation to the staff of the Boston Public Library for their great help.

IPSWICH

As to the superiority of clams, we will leave that important question to be decided by those who sample them more frequently than I do! A few weeks ago a friend of mine who

was brought up on the North Shore, told me she always had supposed that little neck clams got their name from the part of the town known as Little Neck, which is situated on the high land at the end of a long stretch of marsh land, jutting out into Plum Island Sound. I have been told by a driver of the West End Street Railway, now long since deceased, that the horses used on the Street lines got part of their fodder from the extensive meadows of Ipswich.

Ipswich seems to have fully recovered from the shock of losing Essex and Hamilton for the town still seems to have sufficient to talk about in the way of history, stories, sport and romances.

For many years Ipswich has been known for the number of horse lovers in its midst. It will be recalled that during the year 1881 the Myopia Hunt Club established its headquarters at the Agawam House, now converted into the Agawam Apartments, situated opposite the First Church, founded in 1634. Ever since that time the club has hunted over parts of the township.

John Adams often stopped at the Agawam House, when it was managed by the Treadwells. The landlady was the great grand-daughter of Governor Endecott and "as to the landlord," said Adams, "he is as happy . . . and proud . . . as any nobleman of England." On one visit here he "oated his horse and drank balin tea" at the Inn, and found the horses "in the grass up to their eyes," as doubtless did the Myopia hunters of later years.

A visitor from England during the year 1686, John Dunton, in his "Letters from New England," in his usual quaint language described a trip through Essex County. He wrote "I travelled with a host who took up all the Discourse too, which was for the most part of his own Qualities, Knowledge and Understanding; valuing himself at such a rate that he wou'd have made one of the three Dukes of Dunstable." Arriving in Ipswich he stayed with Mrs. Stewart where he noted "My apartment was so Noble, and the Furniture so suitable to it, that I doubt not but even the King himself has been oftentimes contented with a worser lodging." Continuing he added "Slept on a Bed of Down (than which there cou'd be nothing softer but the



Kindness of Mr. and Mrs. Charles S. Bird

"HEARTBREAK HILL," OWNED BY MRS. CHARLES S. BIRD, OF IPSWICH, MASSACHUSETTS, AT THE RIGHT OF PICTURE, LEADING AT BEECHER'S BROOK IN THE 1932 GRAND NATIONAL STEEPLECHASE AT AINTREE, NEAR LIVERPOOL, ENGLAND.

This grand chaser by Don Juan out of Little Sweetheart, famous in Ireland and twice favorite for the Grand National, was named by Mrs. Bird for the hill in Ipswich which was the scene of the tragic Indian romance well known to the townspeople. The mare proved well named for she was crossed at the Canal Turn of this race by the horse shown nearest to her in the picture, and in the following year met with a similar disaster.

Mrs. Bird is a direct descendant of Samuel Appleton, the first immigrant of that family to arrive in this country.

Arms of Iris), slept soundly." Another English visitor to Ipswich, in his "History of New England", found that it was "a great place for fishing for our English Nation, peopled by men of good ranke and quality many of them having the yearly Revenue of large Lands in England before they came to this Wildernesse" . . .

It seemed only fitting that a long time resident and a member of Myopia should seek laurels on the other side of the water, from which her ancestor Samuel Appleton sailed for these shores some generations before. Mrs. Charles S. Bird, a daughter of R. M. Appleton, and descendant of emigrant Samuel Appleton, was given by her husband a bay mare and, searching for a suitable name, decided to bestow upon her new acquisition the romantic appellation given to a hill in the town — Heartbreak Hill. This locality is so well known that several poems have been written descriptive of the sad romance supposed to have taken place there. A few of the verses, composed by Celia Thaxter, and entitled "Heartbreak Hill," follow:

In Ipswich town, not far from the sea,
Rises a hill which the people call
Heartbreak Hill, and its history
Is an old, old legend, known to all.

It was a sailor who won the heart
Of an Indian maiden, lithe and young;
And she saw him over the sea depart,
While sweet in her ear his promise rung;

Like a slender statue carved of stone
She sat, with hardly motion or breath.
She wept no tears and she made no moan,
But her love was stronger than life or death.

He never came back! Yet faithful still,
She watched from the hill-top her life away,
And the townsfolk christened it Heartbreak Hill,
And it bears the name to this very day.

James Appleton Morgan also wrote some lines about this same incident:

I love to think of old Ipswich town —
Of its saddest lore is the ancient lay
Of Heartbreak Hill and its poetry —
And how human hearts are the same alway !
She sat on its crest and watched the sea.
She was a savage, but she was true,
But an English sailor his word betrayed
And he broke the heart of an Indian maid !

This legend is well known to the townspeople in our Ipswich. To the racing fraternity abroad, however, the name was an enigma until a member of the Appleton family transmitted across the water these poems recalling the sad adventure of the Indian maid. Therefore, carrying this intriguing name, the bay mare started as favorite in the Grand National Steeplechases of 1932 and 1933, over the noted Aintree course, near Liverpool.

It proved that the name was well chosen, for it must indeed have been heartbreaking to see her bumped by a riderless horse in the first race and crossed in the second. "Any horse," wrote the husband of the owner, "in the Grand National has only a thirty to one chance at the start", adding that being by Don Juan out of Little Sweetheart, we have to expect some sort of a heartbreak." Her performance until her accident was so brilliant that a well known racing critic wrote "Her flawless jumping captivated the heart of every lover of steeplechasing." Tom Lavin from the Bird establishment, Bective House, in County Meath, Ireland, saw the mare over the same course and wrote to the owner that she "had wings on her heart", she performed so beautifully.

A few lines well describe the course :

It's always Aintree
Where the pride of England waits
To hear the turf responding
To the drum of racing plates.

It may be recalled that during the 250th anniversary of the Massachusetts Ipswich, Sir Daniel Goddard of the English town brought over a beautiful clock, made by Moore of the overseas Ipswich, now in our First Church. This gift was followed by numerous messages to and fro,

enumerated in "Towns of New England and Old England, Ireland and Scotland."

The next important interchange between these two localities was the first telephone conversation between the two Ipswiches which took place on April 2nd, 1927; the East Anglian Daily Times printed a story of the event under the headline of "The Miracle of Transatlantic Telephony". On that day the Mayor of Ipswich, England, called up our town informing us that the Crane engineering organization had just established its first branch in England in the town of Ipswich. This selection was made by R. T. Crane, Jr., the head of that company, who was influenced to locate in Ipswich owing to his fondness of our Ipswich where he and his family resided for many summers. Incidentally, the Crane estate known as Castle Hill was granted to John Winthrop, Jr., as a farm in order to keep him interested in the town, but there is no record of his ever having lived there or made use of it. The message sent to our Mayor read as follows:

This is the Mayor of Ipswich, Suffolk, England, speaking. On behalf of this ancient borough, I beg to tender to you the hearty greetings of its inhabitants. We in this old town have always taken a great interest in our sister town of Ipswich in Massachusetts, and this interest has been considerably deepened since we have had established in our midst a branch of Messrs. Crane-Bennet's business brought over from the United States. I trust that both the businesses will flourish, and add to the prosperity of both towns.

The Rev. J. G. Cairns, pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and Mrs. Cairns, visited Ipswich, England in 1932, carrying a letter of introduction to the editor of the East Anglian Daily Times, the leading newspaper in Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex and Cambridgeshire, published in Ipswich. The English paper spoke of the pleasure of meeting them, adding — "You may be interested to know that twenty-five lads from the United States are being entertained in Ipswich, England, this week, and that throughout this summer the Chantry Mansion, owned by the Corporation, has been converted into a Hotel for Holiday parties of boys and girls." The New Englanders visited the Ancient House, which is an object of great interest.

There have been two broadcasts between the two towns, one in 1940 and the other a year later. The former was arranged by Mrs. Sidney Shurecliff of Argilla Road, and an interesting feature was a conversation in Polish by Miss Nellie Sojka, now Mrs. Benjamin Johnson, to Polish soldiers in England.

Certain names of places that must have aroused the interest of the mother town were mentioned in the broadcast of July 1, 1941 over WRUL by Harry Merson, born in Aberdeen, Scotland, and Chairman of the Board of Education in our Ipswich. He remarked that "Our place-names have a flavor of the past too: Old England Road, Pull-and-be-Damned Creek, Labor-in-Vain Road, Heart-break Hill; — these names remind us that the English-speaking peoples have always recognized the odds against them and have faced those odds the more proudly because they had named the adversary." Another speaker over the air was Miss Sojka, and it is of particular interest that she, a Polish resident of our Ipswich, should have felt so strongly about England and her war effort that she started a chain of correspondence between the children of the two towns, emphasizing in her talk particularly the fine help given by Joan Jackson, teacher in the Ipswich town, and daughter of the Mayor. Another voice over the air came from Mrs. Charles C. Canny, whose family, the Goodhues, came from the County of Kent in England. The house in which she was born overlooks the south village green which formed part of the grant to John Winthrop, Jr. This common, according to the landscape architect, Arthur A. Shurecliff, to use his words, "is one of the finest unspoiled examples in New England of an old-time village center."

The visitor to our Ipswich is shown the several cobbler shops which suggested the name of a book written by the first minister of Ipswich and one of the earliest settlers, Reverend Nathaniel Ward. He chose for the title of this learned work, too deep for the average reader, "The Simple Cobler of Aggawam in America," followed by this explanation — "To help mend his Native Country lamentably tattered, both in the upper-leather and sole, with all the honest stitches he can take." In it appears the odd statement that the "New English" . . . "have been reputed a Collu-



Photographed by
Cushing-Gellatly

Kindness of Mrs. R. T. Crane, Jr.
and J. K. Prentice

THE ANCIENT HOUSE, IPSWICH, ENGLAND

Located in the Butter Market, one of the fine examples of Elizabethan Architecture.

King Charles II sought refuge here when fleeing from the Parliament Army.

One of the chief objects of interest here, especially to the American forces visiting the town.

vies of wild Opinionists, swarmed into a remote wilderness to find elbow-rooms for our phanatic Doctrines and practices." Evidently the author of the "Cobler" didn't approve of the dress and behaviour of the women of the day for he wrote: "Methinks it should break the hearts of Englishmen to see so many goodly English women imprisoned in French cages, peering out of their hood-holes for some man of mercy to help them with a little wit." Ward returned to his native land and had the book printed there in 1647.

Other early settlers were Nathaniel Rogers of Dedham, England, Richard Saltonstall and Rev. Ezekiel Cheever, all of whom were granted land near the so-called South Common.

Mrs. Anne Bradstreet, wife of Simon Bradstreet and daughter of Governor Thomas Dudley, was born in England in 1612. She lived in Ipswich and was a popular poetess of Essex County. She is believed to have written the first poems in New England and the first edition of her works was published in London in 1650 without her knowledge. Of her children she said:

I had eight birds hatched in the nest;
Four cocks there were, and hens the rest;
I nursed them up with pain and care,
Nor cost, nor labor did I spare.
Till at the last they felt their wing,
Mounted the trees and learned to sing.

Her poetry evidently made a great impression upon President Rogers of Harvard, for he declared that "Twice drinking of the nectar of her lines," it left him "weltering in delight."

Through the efforts of Miss Katharine F. Sullivan, Principal of the Junior High School, quite a large correspondence has been carried on between her school children and the Borough of Ipswich Youth Centre and a number of letters were reprinted in the Ipswich News-Chronicle, "Essex County's Fastest Growing Weekly." A few paragraphs of the many letters are copied:

Dear Casimir,

During air raids we go down our cellar. It is our dug-out.

We are safe down there and it is warm too.....The air raid siren makes a terrible noise. We play darts down our cellar, and there are plenty of books.....We have also got a cot down there for my small sister to keep warm. She does not mind air raids at all and loves her gas-mask.

Thelma

Dear Nellie:

You ask about my family. You will be interested to hear that my father is Mayor of Ipswich this year, it is the second time he has held this office.....In peace time you can sit in a tram car and your neighbour remains rigid, whereby now he or she will tell you where you can get eggs or marmalade or what new cooking recipe they have discovered.

Joan Tuthill

Dear Miss Sojka, (teacher here)

...Talking of bombs, I'm actually writing this during an air-raid, and can hear several "Jerries" droning overhead and guns booming about 5 miles away, and bombs dropping all round — near enough to shake the house, but not enough — yet — to make me dive into the cellar — which is what we use as a funk hole....

Gladys Edwards

(Teacher in Ipswich, England)

Dear Elaine:

...my kitten is growing fast, she is asleep now, we are teaching her to sit up for food....

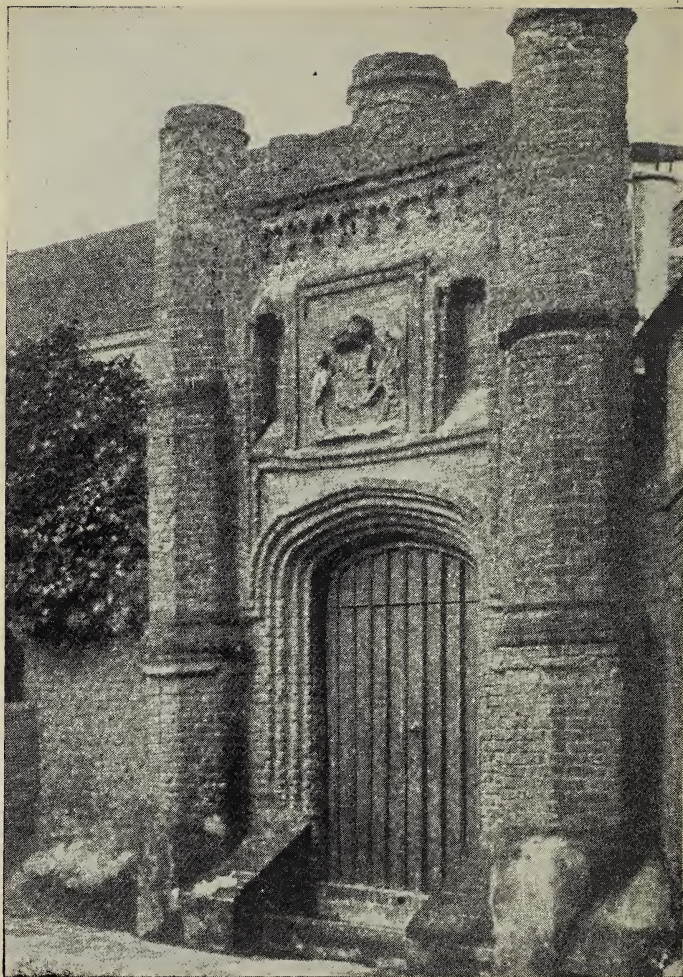
Pat

Dear Barbara,

...I am glad you thought my picture was alright because I thought my mouth was open a little too much....

Kathy

The mention of air-raid shelters is a reminder of a story told to a group in Boston several years ago by Major Ian Hay Beith. The "all over" signal had rung and in a shelter in London someone was trying to amuse those present. He wrote on a large blackboard, "Everything running again, trains, noses, Italians." A pre-war tale connected with our Ipswich Hosiery Mills may bear repeating. The great Boston fire of 1872 was stopped at the Boston office of the Mill and it was said amusingly that it was the Ipswich "hose" that successfully put out the flames.



Photographed by
Cushing-Gellatly

Kindness of Mrs. R. T. Crane, Jr.
and J. K. Prentice

CARDINAL WOLSEY'S GATE IN IPSWICH, ENGLAND

The last relic of the University that the Cardinal was about to establish before encountering Royal displeasure,
One of the fine specimens in the town.

Ipswich was one of the first lace-making towns in New England, and also one of the first places to manufacture hosiery, both industries having been brought over from England.

The English Ipswich was at one time a great coaching center and Mrs. Ann Nelson's team of "Ipswich Blues," as they were called, was famous. Daniel Defoe, author of "Robinson Crusoe" stayed in the town for a time, as did Gainsborough, the artist, and David Garrick, the actor; and at the Great White Horse Tavern, Pickwick, it will be remembered, accidentally met the elderly lady in the yellow curl-papers. A model of this tavern was exhibited at the Chicago Fair. It is still used as a hotel and is becoming known to a large number of American service men. The "Ancient House" is the most noted of the buildings, and it is nice to be able to report that at the time of writing both structures are still standing.

A further description of that town is contained in the Crane Company pamphlet issued from the English office:

Through the eyes of captains of industry, whose products have carried the Town's reputation the world over, the Borough of Ipswich is an ideal centre of a delightfully picturesque district, immortalized by Constable and Gainsborough, and still unsullied by crazy development.

Ipswich is of great interest to the student of Archaeology, five of its twelve churches being recorded in Domesday Book. The "Ancient House" in the Butter Market, a fine example of Elizabethan Architecture, and "Wolsey's Gate," the last relic of the University that the Cardinal was about to establish before he encountered the Royal displeasure, are but two of many fine specimens to be found in the town and surrounding district. These two buildings are illustrated here.

Ten miles away, the North Sea provides Nature's playground for the workers....

The Secretary of the Ipswich Youth Centre, previously referred to, mentions a few interesting facts about his Borough, and several of his remarks are copied:

It is the largest town in Suffolk, at the head of the river Orwell, the biggest river in Suffolk...it is the capital and largest port of Suffolk. Parts of the town are of great antiquity and the streets still contain many specimens of mediaeval

architecture....Agriculture is the chief industry of the County....Ipswich was the chief port of the kingdom of East Anglia the capital of which was Thetford....In the tenth century Ipswich was large enough to pay £10,000 to the marauding Danes in order to stop their sacking the town. Soon after, however, the Saxons massacred a party of Danes and as revenge the Danish army completely sacked a number of towns along the coast of East Anglia and Ipswich did not escape their wrath....In the Domesday book of William the Conqueror Ipswich is referred to as a half hundred. This means that half a hundred families lived within the boundary of the town....Ipswich was recognized as one of the chief ports in the country's export trade by the time that it received its first charter at the hands of King John in 1199. Edward III also helped the town to flourish when he brought over the Flemish weavers during the Hundred Years War.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century steps were taken to regain for the port some of its former prosperity.Shipbuilding also became a regular industry of the port — between 1804 and 1813 thirty-nine war vessels were built at one shipyard alone....With the increase in size of ocean-going vessels however, and with the advent of the steamship, the shipbuilding industry vanished entirely from Ipswich.

He concludes with a story concerning the mysterious port of Orwell which he says has vanished without any trace, but which was a flourishing seaport in the Middle Ages. Several sentences follow:

It was here that the Earl of Leicester made his landing place in 1173 when he attempted to seize the throne. It was here also that Edward III collected his great fleet of 500 vessels before sailing to defeat the French at the battle of Sluys.

Chaucer also mentions it in the frequently-quoted couplet from the "Prologue" to his Canterbury Tales:—

‘He wolde the see were kept for anything
Bitwixe Middleburgh and Orwelle.’

LYNN

Twice it has been my good fortune to visit Lynn Regis, formerly called Bishop's Lynn, and later King's Lynn, in Norfolk, once on the way to Old Boston in Lincolnshire in 1921, and again on a return trip from Old Boston eight years later. Visitors from Massachusetts who have been



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CUSTOM HOUSE, KING'S LYNN, ENGLAND

One of the oldest and most attractive of the ancient buildings in the English town.

to Lynn Regis have admired the town very much, and I too appreciated my short stays there equally much. After a nice lunch at the Globe Hotel, we saw the quaint and attractive Custom House where I doubt if many customs have been collected for some years, although in earlier times the place was an important shipping port. It is situated on the River Ouse, which flows into the Wash, the same Wash that extends up the River Witham to Old Boston. I tried to imagine from the Custom House wharf that I could distinguish the "Boston Stump" in the distance, for I had been told that on a very clear day it could be seen from the roofs of some of the buildings. I was so excited at being near Old Boston that I even got up in the middle of the night, when there happened to be a gorgeous moon, to take an ineffectual glance across the waters towards the "Stump."

Canon Vaudreay of St. Margaret's Church showed us around the town, which included a visit to the Town Hall or Guildhall, where Benjamin N. Johnson was so royally entertained when he crossed the water with the express purpose of asking the Mayoress, Marchioness Townshend, to visit our Lynn on the occasion of the Tercentenary, in 1929. In this church which was founded by the first Bishop of Norwich, Herbert de Losinga, also the first Norman Bishop of East Anglia, we saw the framed record of the gift of a few stones to the American Lynn, mentioned later. St. Nicholas Church is also beautiful but offered no connecting links between the two Lynns. The Greenland whale fishery museum, of course, couldn't be overlooked, with its rare relics, many of which I coveted. One of the most pleasant and satisfactory occurrences, though, was the cashing of a check at Barclay's Bank situated in the fine square near the hotel.

Our second stay was spent in a different way, for we passed the night on a palatial yacht, well named "Enchantress," which was once owned by the Duke of Westminster. We were thus enabled to view the town from the water side. All boats of any importance, owing to the great tide fall, had to lie at their docks in a large lock, from which they could leave or return only at fairly high tides.

After a night between silk sheets we started on our motor

trip to Old Boston and it was exciting, to say the least, to notice the signboards "Boston 35 miles," "Boston 25 miles," "Boston 10 miles," "Boston one mile," and then into the town itself.

There have been more interchanges and visits between the Lynns than any other places except perhaps the Bostons. Rev. Samuel Whiting led the way when in the year 1636 he came to this country to become Minister of the church at Lynn. He had such a rough voyage to this country he said that he would rather undergo a six weeks' jail sentence than make another such trip. He was born in Old Boston, the son of John Whiting, who was twice Mayor of that town. His brother, John, was four times Mayor and another brother, James, once held that same position. A descendant of Samuel Whiting, Walter R. Whiting of Hingham, reminds me that Samuel's brother-in-law, Richard Westland, also served as Mayor of the Lincolnshire town and was a contributor to the founding of the Bay Colony. Samuel Whiting, known as the "Father" or "Angel of Lynn," served at one time as Rector of St. Margaret's, in Lynn Regis, and also of Skirbeck Church, in Boston, England. A history of First Church of Lynn, compiled by Mrs. Edgar Copeland, contains this paragraph:

In selecting the next minister, it was resolved "to act more prudently and lay hands suddenly on no man." Moved by strong conviction of religious duty, many able and learned persons were leaving England and coming to the New World. Among these were Samuel Whiting, a learned divine, a son of the Mayor of Old Boston, England, and—born in 1597—a graduate of the English University of Cambridge. The church in Lynn soon found him out, and invited him to become its pastor. He accepted the call and was installed pastor on Tuesday, November 8, 1636. The Council remained two days, and found much difficulty in organizing a church which was composed at this time of only six members and the minister. He spent the rest of his days serving and shepherding his flock in this church. Mr. Whiting served for forty-three years.

A shaft decorates the grave of this well known pioneer in West Lynn Cemetery. It may be of interest to mention

that there is also a West Lynn on the opposite side of the River Ouse. In honor of Samuel Whiting and by his request the name of the early Saugus or Saugust was changed to Lynn, a name associated with his early preaching. The early Indian appellation was Cawgust, Sawust or Saugut. Whiting street in our Lynn perpetuates his name. The first five men who made the original settlement were Edward and Francis Ingalls, William Dixey and John and William Wood.

The first visitor to England from Lynn, Massachusetts, was most probably the Indian chieftain Montowampate, who journeyed over to collect a debt owed him for some beaver skins, carrying with him a letter of introduction from Governor Winthrop. It has been narrated that he did not like the English bill of fare, much preferring his customary clams and succotash.

Many years later, in 1867, at the dedication of our new City Hall, Mayor Roland G. Usher communicated with Lynn, England, when Walter Moyse was Mayor, and some years later visited Old Lynn and brought home some interesting pictures. Our ex-official wrote these lines :

King's Lynn can trace a direct line of Mayors for six hundred years. Before the first white men trod our shores, it was a place of great commercial importance, and the center of a large trade two hundred years before the discovery of this continent. Before the time of Henry VIII, it had entertained in royal style no less than five kings.

Mr. Usher took with him a letter from Rev. Louis de Cormis suggesting that one of the churches in Old Lynn might send a stone to our Lynn in remembrance of our Lynn's 250th anniversary of its founding. These relics in the form of several stones are now in our St. Stephen's Church, with a suitable tablet.

James R. Newhall in 1883 visited the English town and brought back a valuable history presented by J. James Coulter, describing the shipping, fisheries and old buildings. Newhall's scrap book, now in our Lynn library, is most interesting as he was an excellent writer.

Another visitor abroad was James H. Van Buren, Rector of St. Stephen's Church, who related an account of his trip when he reached home in 1895.

The Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria took place in 1897 at which time Mayor Ramsdell sent congratulations to Mayor Gurney as a "tribute of affection and loyalty to the illustrious lady who has reigned for the last sixty years." A reply and a Jubilee medal were forwarded to our Lynn and the latter is now in the Lynn Historical Society.

Interchanges continued and in 1900 at the Semi-Centennial of the Incorporation of our Lynn as a City, Mayor Shepherd invited Mayor Bristow to be present, but he was unable to accept. A number of interesting seals now repose in the Lynn Historical Society, together with other valuable documents. There are also some organ pipes in its rooms donated by St. Margaret's Church in 1902.

Six years later a letter was read at one of the Society's meetings, from Miss B. J. Black of Heacham, King's Lynn, telling how Francis Rolfe, then Town Clerk, saved the early charters of Lynn Regis. This story seems worthy of repetition. These documents, granted by King John in 1205, had to be in possession of the town to make them effective. Cromwell demanded their surrender and the burgesses were perplexed, for they prided themselves on the long succession of Royal charters by which the town enjoyed certain liberties and privileges. In 1656 a meeting was held in the Guildhall and it was decided to select a deputation to take them to London, where a counsellor-at-law was procured to represent Lynn's interest. The valuable documents were thereupon sealed and locked, each one separately, and placed on a pack horse, in charge of Francis Rolfe and other trusted attendants. Upon reaching London the Lynnites promised to surrender them during the process of drawing up the new ones. After some delay their whereabouts seem to have been forgotten and finally Rolfe succeeded in taking them back in a similar way, storing them in his own house. In a short time Cromwell and his men arrived in Lynn whereupon great care had to be taken not to divulge the secret. In 1660 the valuable papers were restored in safety to the Custom House. Photographs of these charters were presented to our Lynn.

Francis Rolfe was a relative of the husband of Pocahon-

tas, John Rolfe. In Heacham Church in King's Lynn is a tablet to the memory of the latter's father, also named John. Rolfe took his wife, Pocahontas, to Heacham Hall, the seat of the Rolfe family, and about three hundred years later Charles Stewart, a descendant of the Rolfes and the head of the Boston office of the Cunard White Star Line, took his American bride to visit there. Pocahontas was buried in St. George's Church at Gravesend, now part of London. She had a son named Thomas and the only known painting of the mother and boy is now in Sedgeford Hall, the home of the Rolfe family. Francis Rolfe lies buried in St. Nicholas' Church.

In 1921 Clarence Sherman of the Lynn Public Library took over messages from Mayor Creamer.

One of Lynn's most public-spirited citizens, Benjamin N. Johnson, almost equally well known in Boston, decided in 1929 to visit Lynn across the Atlantic to invite Marchioness Townshend, Mayoress, to be the chief guest of Lynn, Massachusetts, on the invitation of Mayor Ralph Bauer. The occasion was the Tercentenary of the settlement of our Lynn. While the guest of King's Lynn, the "Ambassador" stayed four days on the beautiful estate of the Marchioness, Raynham Hall. He was also tendered a large banquet in the Guildhall, which was attended by many dignitaries. The local newspaper, the Eastern Daily Press, printed a long article with the heading, "Hands Across the Sea, Lynn, Massachusetts, to King's Lynn, England — Interview with Representative." A picture of this beautiful Guildhall is reproduced here and a stone from the building now forms a souvenir in the Historical Society. Several months later, in June, the Marchioness and her young son George arrived in Lynn for the six day celebration. The photograph album in the Lynn Historical Society depicts the many activities and the illuminated scroll presented by the Marchioness testifies to the friendship between the two places. The key to the city was presented to her and with it the son, now a Marquis, seemed to have unlocked the hearts of everyone he met. One day he entered the office of the Cunard-White Star Line in Boston and Charles Stewart, the head of the Line, asked him how he liked America. Opening his jacket he showed

with pride a Fire badge and also a Police badge given to him by these organizations in our Lynn — "Of course," he said, "I'm having a grand time in America."

When Benjamin Johnson died the Lynn, England, newspaper recorded the event with much regret.

During the winter of 1940 and 1941 two mobile kitchens were presented by Lynn, Massachusetts, to Robert W. Mortimore, head of the British War Relief in Boston. Some months later Mayor Albert Cole received word that an old landmark in the English city damaged first by Oliver Cromwell's men in 1643 had been hit again, this time by German bombs, sometime during 1941. This curious incident is thus described by Walter Leake, Tax Commissioner, who wrote to Mayor Cole that he had just tasted an orange for the first time in two years. He said: "A fragment of one of the bombs fell through the roof of my mill at almost exactly the same spot which was struck by one of Oliver Cromwell's cannon balls when he besieged Lynn 298 years ago and which we found in the wall when alterations were being made. They hang side by side on my office wall, labelled:

"CROMWELL 1643 — HITLER 1941"

Leake also presented our Lynn Library with twelve water colors done by himself, of old buildings and quaint corners of his town, including a picture of the Custom House. They have been framed and will be hung in a short time. The artist wrote that he hoped he had "captured some of the charm and colour of our old town," and that they may be of some interest "to your Citizens in view of the fact that it was from these homes or others like them, that the men went who founded Lynn, U.S.A."

During 1941 H. A. E. Pyshorn, a newspaperman of King's Lynn serving with the R. A. F., forwarded some articles describing his town, which were printed in the Lynn Item here. One paragraph read:

As a citizen of King's Lynn, England, I have to express in the first place a deep and lasting gratitude at the gesture of the Lynn Item and Greater Lynn in Massachusetts generally. I know that every man, woman and child in the English Lynn will appreciate your goodness and greatness of heart.

In July, 1941, there was a namesake town broadcast to Lynn's older sister, mentioning particularly Marchioness Townshend of Raynham, and among those who participated were City Treasurer, Joseph Cole, Guy Newhall, Rev. Alfred F. Ferguson, John S. Murphy, a leading representative of labor who headed the Committee for the purchase of the rolling kitchen, and an évacué from Derby not far from King's Lynn. The boy was asked how he liked Massachusetts. He replied that he thought it lovely, "but I hope you won't mind," he added, "if I say that I like London just a bit better." The English lad remarked "If time permitted, I should like to tell you of all the American customs, games, mannerisms, and—yes—even the slang we have learned to use so well—and which we like very much. Rugby is now football, cricket is baseball; crumpets are just plain biscuits while 'Cheerio!' is 'I'll be seeing you!'"

Another voice over the broadcast said, "As for ourselves on this side, it has become increasingly clear that Nazism is a force directed as much against our way of life as against yours and that if the world is to be rid of this evil we must more and more unite our efforts towards that end."

From Earl M. Lawrence, Secretary of the Rotary Club of Lynn, I have learned that contacts were made with the people of Lynn Regis at the first meeting of their club in 1926, sending messages of good will to our club, "located in the land that gave birth to Rotary and in the city which derives its name from our ancient Borough." Exchanges have continued up to the present time. When the Marchioness was a guest of the club in our Lynn she presented a gift and the Massachusetts Rotary donated to the King's Lynn Club an American flag. In 1937 Ira J. Haskell as an envoy from here presented to the English club a beautiful guest book in which to record the names of their visitors. A banner was given him to take home. Funds have also been sent during the war. "We shall continue," wrote Mr. Lawrence, "in our endeavor as the years pass to make the ties of friendship more and more binding."

In early days the English town was known by many names, Len, Lenn, Lenna, Lena, Lun and Luneau. Only a very few highlights of the history of Lynn can be even

briefly mentioned. King John was a visitor there in 1216, also Cardinal Wolsey, and King Henry VII, and as we have mentioned, Oliver Cromwell. The last named, so the story goes, fell into the Ouse when a child and was saved by a Royalist. Years later when he marched in with his army he chanced to meet his rescuer and asked him if he remembered the event. "Truly I do," was the reply, "and the Lord forgive me but I wish I'd let thee drown."

Daniel Defoe went there in 1722 and described it as a "rich and populous port-town," and a few lines of poetry express its importance as a seaport:

Rising was a sea-port town
When Lynn was but a marsh;
Now Lynn it is a sea-port
And Rising fares the worse.

Another visitor is said to have remarked that "There's a bit o'life sometimes there," evidently preferring it to his home in the country which he said was very much like "living in a teapot and 'peekin' at the world through the spout."

From a history of the town I noticed that there have been many connections with Norway, owing to the fact that there was a Norwegian Colony there in 1300. I also saw that there were supposed to be witches in town at one time. Another fact of interest is the Red Book of Lynn, dating as far back as 1309, which contains copies of wills and other documents, and which is supposed to be the oldest paper book in the Kingdom. A regulation also caught my eye, which in the year 1520 required all unemployed to stand for hire at the corner of Chequer Street for one hour at a certain time or be punished as vagrants.

MANCHESTER

There is a Manchester in every New England State, with the exception of Rhode Island. Certainly Manchester, England ought to be flattered to have this name chosen so often. There is, however, some doubt as to whether our Essex town got its name from the English city, or whether it was so called for the Earl of Manchester, who had an official connection with the colonies.

It is no wonder that an occasional visitor to these parts, finds himself stranded in the wrong Manchester many miles from his host with whom he expected to pass a leisurely week-end. This very mistake happened to a guest of ours when we were spending the summer at Manchester-by-the-Sea, as it is often called to distinguish it from the other inland places of the same name. He was warned to be sure to take the train for Manchester, Massachusetts, but through some mistake found himself on a sweltering July morning in Manchester, New Hampshire, not by the sea. He told the station master that he would like his luggage quickly as he wanted to take a swim in the ocean. The Boston & Maine official looked surprised and asked our friend where he expected to find any ocean thereabouts. "I guess you'll have to swim in the nearby pond," he remarked. A hot long trip followed into Boston and then to us, too late for any swim that day.

The residents of the Massachusetts Manchester fully believe the town was named for the English city, according to a copy of the broadcast given to me by Miss Grace M. Prest. It took place in our Town Hall in September of 1942. Rev. Paul McElroy had been to the English city and he told them about our town, laying special emphasis on Singing Beach which he rated as the finest on this side of the Atlantic. The sands do seem to sing as one walks on them, a characteristic of very few beaches; in fact it is very different from some I have seen, which I have nicknamed "Stinging Beach," "Singeing Beach," and "Slinking Beach."

The compiler of the broadcast makes the statement that William Allen, who was one of the first settlers and who built the first saw mill in the town, came from Manchester, England, with some of his friends, therefore, in 1645, they petitioned the court to change the name from Jeffrey's Creek, the earliest name of the township, to its present one in honor of their native town, the grant reading "At ye request of ye inhabitants of Jeffrey's Creek, this Court doth grant y^t ye said Jeffrey's Creek henceforward shall be called Manchester." The following story was sent over the air at the time of the broadcast, and we quote Mr. Willis verbatim:

Let's tell them the tale of the cannon ball. Well — the story goes that during the war of 1812 the town was aroused by a British vessel off shore; the militia rushed down Sea St. dragging their only cannon by a rope, up the great hill to the shore. The Captain marched his fifers and drummers back and forth behind bushes and scared the British into thinking they had a large force. After the vessel sailed away without attacking, the men marched to town; they found their one and only cannon ball by the side of the road where it rolled on the way down and they hadn't missed it!

(This hill is near the present Caner, Stockton and Dennett places, the steepest part having been situated near the property of the Misses Sturgis.)

It was a joke on both sides, someone present added. The talk ended by singing the Manchester hymn written in 1895 for the 250th Anniversary, entitled "The Same Tides Flow." The change from the days of the Red Men to the present Manchester is told in this verse:

But the Indian hunting ground
Has become a garden fair;
Where the wigwam once was found
Stands the mansion rich and rare.
Wealth and skill have bro't their pow'r
Ev'ry where their work we see,
Love and beauty grace the bower,
This is Eden by the sea.

In 1938 some citizens in the English city through their Lord Mayor, extended to our town an invitation to be represented at their 300th Anniversary Celebration of their municipal charter, but we were unable to accept. The 300th Anniversary of our Manchester will take place in 1945.

Manchester in Lancashire had a long history before it became a city in 1638. It is situated on the River Irwell and there the Romans had a camp or "Castrum" called Mancunium. Woolen manufacturers ranked among the first in England in size and importance and its citizens were described as being "the most industrious in the northern part of the kingdom." The English city has for many years been known as the center of English cotton manufacture and has a large population.

Manchester, New Hampshire, has had a closer connection with the mother city than the other New England towns of this name.

ROWLEY

The late Tracy Elliot Hazen for many years made studies of the New England immigrants both here and abroad, and undoubtedly obtained more knowledge of Yorkshire families than anyone else, and Rowley in that county came in for a large part of his researches for the reason that he is a direct descendant of the early settlers of our Rowley. His remarks at the Tercentenary celebration in 1939 were most enlightening and really gave us an excellent idea of the connecting links between the two towns. Hazen visited the English Rowley, which he reported was pronounced Roeley, and while there it was confirmed that the Rev. Ezekiel Rogers when he felt it necessary to leave his parish carried away with him to New England all the early records. It is also well established that he induced twenty families from Rowley and nearby townships to leave their country with him, thereby depopulating the villages, according to the Rector who showed Hazen around. After enjoying his ministry in Rowley, East Yorkshire, for over seventeen years, as he himself expressed it, "for refusing to read that accursed book which allowed sports on God's holy Sabbath or Lord's day I was suspended and by it and other sad signs of the time driven, with many of my hearers, into New England."

The emigrant's father, Rev. Richard Rogers, was a prominent Puritan preacher in Wethersfield, Essex County, England, and there his son Ezekiel was born in 1590 and spent his youth. The son was called to the English Rowley and preached in St. Peter's Church, where people came to hear him from nearby places. I have seen it stated that even the King was apprised of his leaving England. One of the streets here is named Wethersfield in honor of the family. Rogers and his friends are supposed to have sailed from Hull on the Humber in the year 1638 in the ship "John" of London. With him were two members of the Jewett (known also as Jouett) family, Maximilian

and Joseph, thus bringing to New England this well-known name, which exists still in our Rowley in the person of Amos E. Jewett, who is one of the prominent citizens in the town and an authority on its history. These two emigrants came from Bradford in West Riding. It is quite definite that the first settlers here were the first to make cloth in this country, and added Hazen, "In this enterprise we may well believe the Jewetts were leaders, continuing their hereditary family occupation." John Pearson, however, was the first to start this enterprise. Evidently a distant relative of Jewett, once Master of Balliol College in Oxford, was very learned, for Hazen in his interesting talk, previously referred to, quoted this rhyme appearing in a London newspaper:

My name is Doctor Jowett:
I am the Master of this College.
All there is to know, I know it:
Aught else one thinks he knows,
It simply isn't knowledge.

On the "John" when it sailed to New England was Jose Glover, who brought over the well-known Daye Press. The record of the voyage contained this sad but expressive statement: "He reached port before the ship made land."

The Reverend Samuel Phillips from Boxford, England was also an important factor in the early days of the town, and became second Pastor of the Church. He married, in 1651, the daughter of Samuel Appleton a descendant of John Appleton who died at Great Waldingfield in Suffolk, England. Someone prepared this epitaph which, however, was never placed on his gravestone:

At Rogers's Head and Shepard's Side,
In Creeps this Saint, and's not deni'd;
Come Brother Phillips, come to Bed,
Here's room enough, lay down thy head.

Samuel Maverick in "A Briefe Description of New England," etc., makes a brief statement in regard to the industry in Rowley. "The inhabitants are most Yorkshiremen, very laborious people and drive a pretty trade, makeing Cloath and Ruggs of Cotton Wool, and also Sheeps wooll with which in few yeares the Countrey will bound."

Governor Winthrop also wrote about this settlement: "Our supplies from England failing, most men began to look about them, and fell to the manufacture of cotton; whereof, we had a store from Barbadoes, and of hemp and flax, wherein Rowley, to their great commendation exceeded all other towns."

Another writer of early New England history, John Dunton, who visited here in 1686, and who evidently witnessed a game of football played in Rowley or perhaps nearby between two town teams, wrote, in his "Letters from New England" that, "Neither were they so apt to trip up one another's heels, and quarrel, as I have seen 'em in England."

Historians believe that from 1620 to 1640 the number of emigrants to this country amounted to four thousand families, or about twenty-one thousand British subjects. A native of our town has figured that of the 2,545 who died in the second century, and whose ages only are recorded, seventy-two were over ninety years of age, and four reached a hundred years or over, remarking that although Methuselah lived nine hundred and sixty-nine years, even he too had to die sometime.

The settlement at New Haven desired this group of settlers to repair there but Rogers chose a tract of land between Ipswich and Newbury. A grant was made reading as follows: "13 March, 1638-9. Mr. Ezechil Rogers, Mr. John Phillips, and their company had granted them 8 miles every way into the countrey, where it may not trench vpon other plantations already settled." For some time this territory was known as "Mr. Rogers' settlement," of which he became the first minister. He built his house on Wethersfield Street. Cotton Mather said of him "The rest of this good man's time in the world was winter; he saw more nights than days," for his first wife who accompanied him from England, he buried at the expiration of about ten years. His second wife, the daughter of the Rev. John Wilson, the first minister of Boston, also died. His third wife survived him, but the very night of this marriage, July 16th, 1651, his dwelling-house, with all his goods, the church records, and the library he brought with him from England, were burned in a conflagration which it is be-

lieved was set by a maid in his household in jealousy for not herself becoming his bride. Soon after this a fall from his horse so injured his right arm that it became useless. Nothing daunted, however, he learned to write with his left hand. A few years later he remarked: "It is hard to get a servant that is glad of family duties. I had a rare blessing of servants in Yorkshire; and those I brought over were a blessing; but the young brood doth much afflict me."

In more recent years Captain Nathaniel Perley built a vessel on Rowley Common which was named the "Country's Wonder." It was drawn to the river, a mile and half distant by one hundred yoke of oxen. It is related in the town's history that while the drivers were eating lunch, Captain Perley, in order to feel that he was providing drink for all, poured a barrel of Jamaica rum into a nearby well in order that all might partake of something stronger than water.

The Rowley Tercentenary lasted four days during August, 1939, and consisted of addresses, school exercises, historical episodes, garden party, exhibition of relics, ball game, band concert, tree planting, dedication of tablets, colonial ball, parade, ending with a banquet on the Common; in short, everything that any celebration committee could possibly think of. Messages, of course, were sent across the water, but it was found impossible for a representative to appear from the Old Country. Greetings, however, were sent over here from "the Mother Church and Parish of Rowley" and were read by Deacon John A. Marshall of the First Congregational Church "to our Brethren of Rowley, Massachusetts." This message was signed by Charles Lacey, who for fifty-seven years was Parish Clerk of his town. At the end of a long letter Lacey intimated that he thought it might be well to take out War Damage insurance on the Communion Cup (dated 1630) used by Ezekiel Rogers. The Rector also sent his best wishes.

Mr. Marshall acted as Master of Ceremonies in a broadcast in February, 1942, as well as Clerk of the Tercentenary Committee. He also has served the town in an official capacity for over fifty years. It is quite natural that he should have corresponded often with Rowley, England, for

his wife was a native of the English Manchester. Among his remarks were the following:—

From the First Church of Rowley, founded by Mr. Rogers in 1639 have since been organized wholly or in part, Churches at Bradford, Boxford 1st, South Byfield, Groveland, Georgetown, Boxford 2d, and Linebrook; thus we have a most intimate connection with Rowley in Yorkshire, England, and can wholeheartedly say to you all, greetings and best wishes, and to present and past Rectors and the long and faithful Parish Clerk, Mr. Lacey.

An exhibit during the Tercentenary was a sunken garden copied from one at Hovingham Hall in Yorkshire.

The next speaker on the broadcast was F. Payson Todd, a descendant of Rev. Edward Payson, the second Pastor of our Rowley. He was selected to impersonate the character of Ezekiel Rogers in the pageant. "Liberty," he said, "is a previous heritage that must, at all costs, be preserved for the generations still unborn."

The last speaker, Hon. Cornelius F. Haley, a leading spirit in the celebration, said:

United as we are with the British people, representatives of a great English speaking nation our interests are mutual, in support of your noble defense for home and country, people of Rowley contribute with ready hands and willing hearts all the aid within their power, to support the defenders of England in their heroic stand against the invader.

He then referred to the patriotic service now being rendered by a prominent resident of Rowley, Miss Pauline Fenno, who not only provided a mobile canteen for the homeless and rescue squads, but has been a "loyal aid to Lady Reading in the humanitarian work of the Women's Voluntary Services for Civil Defense."

The Tercentenary Publication contains this paragraph:

Rowley after three hundred years of existence as a real Yankee town, still retains its ancient charm and traditions. Visitors from the old country would certainly find much in the town to remind them of the peace and serenity of some little village deep in the heart of England. There is not much of the modern world hustling and bustling in Rowley. This feeling came to one commentator on Rowley: "Let the world

go. To be born in such a place, and in the serenity of old age to die in such a place, and to sleep at last in the same dust with the good old fathers of olden times, were enough to fill the cup of mortal happiness full."

In the procession during the celebration of 1839 was an elderly gentleman, with an old lady of eighty-six, mounted on a pillion, both in the full dress of olden time, not omitting the cocked hat and powdered wig. There were also Indians, in full costume, carrying the pipe and armour of the late Black Hawk, an Indian chief. There was the weather vane, made of a thin plate of iron, with the figures, 1697, cut through it, the date of the second meeting-house.

In the pavilion were displayed some very ancient books brought from England by the first settlers of Rowley, also a large armchair, with a set of heavy leather-bottomed chairs, supposed to have been brought from England by the first settlers of the town; the former was used at the celebration dinner a hundred years ago.

This chapter on the Rowleys can be closed with a few lines of a prologue to introduce the "Rowley Episodes" and a remark made by Reverend A. N. Cooper of Old Rowley in an address before the East Riding Antiquarian Society:

From a far away Parish in England
From a home life of comfort and ease
He had gathered these people together,
They had made the long voyage over seas.
And they came to a desolate country,
To a life of privation and pain
Before them one hope and one vision
One ultimate goal to attain.
A home for themselves and their children
In a land that was free and their own. . . .

"I have never known of stronger or wiser men than those who colonized America in the 17th century, of whom the men of Rowley, I am inclined to think, were second to none."

(To be continued)

CAPTAIN COLLECTORS

THE INFLUENCE OF NEW ENGLAND SHIPPING ON THE STUDY OF POLYNESIAN MATERIAL CULTURE

BY ERNEST S. DODGE

It is not possible today for an ethnologist to study the indigenous material culture of the Polynesians in the field. Only by visiting many American, European, New Zealand, and Australian museums can one see the tools, weapons, ornaments, household equipment, and clothing of the natives as they were before contact with white men. These, along with all other cultural manifestations of the Polynesians, deteriorated with extraordinary rapidity under the white impact, so that within a few years after the opening of the region, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the native culture, in most of the groups, was changed almost beyond recognition.

Because of the geographical location of Polynesia, acculturation was swift and violent. These small islands, widely distributed through the central Pacific, lay directly across one of the principal water routes to the wealth of China and the East, and they were, besides, the nearest land to some of the world's finest whaling grounds. Thus hardly had the ink dried on the history-making log books of the Pacific explorers before the region was swarming with traders and whalers, quickly followed by missionaries, renegade sailors, escaped convicts, and blackbirders. Profitable trades supplementary to those with the Far East quickly developed. Vessels getting sea otter skins on the Northwest Coast stopped at the Hawaiian Islands for food and water, and filled their spare cargo space with sandlewood. Farther south, sandlewood, pearl shell, beche-de-mer, and tortoise shell all were desirable for the traders to sell to the Chinese.

Under these conditions of accelerated trade, superior articles of European technology rapidly replaced those of native manufacture. Missionaries and sailors unwittingly combined to break down the taboo system of the natives. The missionaries hoped to replace the strict taboo system

with Christian morality, while the sailors consistently broke the taboos without dire results, as the natives could well perceive. Unfortunately, with the exception of the missionaries and some of the traders, the white men with whom the natives were acquainted were, in general, a tough and most un-Christian lot of shrewd traders, rough whalers, and indolent beachcombers, to whom it was impossible for the teacher of the Scriptures to point with pride. Therefore, for some years, the confused native, unable to absorb the intricacies of Christian theology and the discrepancies between preaching and practice before his own restraints were abolished, was inclined to follow the example of his new unruly acquaintances rather than those of the men of God. This does not mean to imply that the missionaries were entirely unsuccessful, for many of them had faithful though small followings.

Undoubtedly another reason for the complete collapse of Polynesian culture was the comparatively small population of the islands in contrast with Melanesia, for example, and the islands of the East Indies, which have wild interiors, and, in many cases, dense populations. In those places white impact was cushioned, was felt at first only in the coastal areas, and did not at once penetrate inland.

It was during this turbulent period, so briefly outlined, that the finest examples of Polynesian material culture were collected. But compared with the huge collections from Melanesia, Indonesia, Africa, or other large and rich areas, Polynesian material is rare.

The great collections made on the expeditions of Captain Cook, and those of the other early explorers, are now, for the most part, in English and European museums, are well known, and comparatively well published. Equally important are the superb collections made by the missionaries of the several denominations. One of the most important of these is that of the London Missionary Society, now in the British Museum. Other important collections made entirely or in part by missionaries were located before the war in museums at Oxford and Cambridge Universities, in Vienna, Berlin, Braine-le-Comte, Paris, and the Vatican Museum in Rome. An important American missionary collection from Hawaii was made by the Reverend Asa

Thurston and his wife and is now in the Peabody Museum of Salem.

Less well known but almost equally important are the smaller collections brought back by American sailors and traders, particularly those from New England.

The two New England centers to which most of this material returned were Salem and New Bedford. The islands of Polynesia were a favorite place for New Bedford and Nantucket whalers to stop for water and food, and it was not unusual for them to stay at an island for a month or more to repair their ship. During these periods the sailors, and particularly the captains of the ships, apparently found it amusing to obtain from the natives not only the essential materials needed for their whaling cruise but also curiosities and trinkets of native manufacture to bring back to their wondering families. Thus the material coming into New Bedford and Nantucket was due to an individual interest and not to any planned effort for a particular group of men.

That coming to Salem on the other hand was, for the most part, the direct result of the East India Marine Society establishing a Museum. This Society was founded in 1799 and its membership was confined to Salem captains or supercargoes who had sailed around either Cape Horn or the Cape of Good Hope.

Among the objects of the institution as set forth in the introduction to the account of *The East-India Marine Society of Salem*, published by the Society in 1821, the third was "To form a Museum of natural and artificial curiosities, particularly such as are to be found beyond the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn. This object has been obtained to a considerable extent, chiefly by voluntary donations of the members as well as of others friendly to the institution; and the whole collection is placed in the Hall where the Society holds its meetings."¹

That the formation of a Museum was one of the foremost

¹ *The East-India Marine Society of Salem* (Salem, 1821), p. 4. For an account of the restoration of the hall in which the collections of the Society were housed see Lawrence Waters Jenkins and Walter Muir Whitehill, "The Restoration of East India Marine Hall," *The American Neptune* (Salem, 1944) Vol. IV, pp. 5-17.

objects in the members' minds is again brought out in Article 13 of the By-Laws of the Society, which reads: "The members shall collect such useful publications, or articles of curiosity, as they think will be acceptable to the Society, either as donations thereto, or to be held in their own private right for the temporary use of the Society, under such terms as may be agreed on with the President and Committee."²

In February, 1824, it was "*Ruled or Ordered*, That the Superintendent, of the Museum be authorized to purchase any articles of curiosity for the use of the Society, to render their Museum more complete, or a written order for that purpose, signed by the President and two members of the Committee in the absence of the President, which order shall specify the articles so ordered or purchased."³

Again, also in February 1824, it was ruled "That the interest of the Institution would in their judgment be promoted, by authorizing the Superintendent of the Museum, with the written assent, or upon the written order of the President and two members of the Committee of Observation, or in the absence of the President, of three members of the Committee of Observation, to exchange any article of the collection which may have been presented by members or purchased by the Society, and of which there may be more than one specimen, for other articles of which the Collection may be deemed not less valuable to the Society."⁴

The results of this desire of the Society to establish a museum of natural and artificial curiosities from beyond the two Capes was a flood of objects, good, bad, and indifferent, from all over the world. Many things from China, India, Zanzibar, the East Indies, and the Oceanic islands came into the Society's rooms.

Unfortunately, the sailing man of the early 1800's was interested only in trade, and lacked taste and discrimination for foreign objects. Most of the material, therefore, from China and other places in the Far East is of a sou-

² Op. cit. pp. 9-10.

³ The East-India Marine Society of Salem (Salem, 1831), p. 14.

⁴ Ibid, p. 15.

venir or trade nature. It is doubtful whether the captains would have been able to obtain any really good Chinese porcelains or bronzes, for example, even if they knew the good from the bad. For China at that time was, of course, a highly civilized country, and many of the wealthy mandarins and merchants were collectors and connoisseurs of their own fine things and loath to part with them.

From the Pacific Islands and other uncivilized regions, however, the material brought back was of a far different nature; here was no highly technical civilization, no wealthy collectors, only natives living by their own primitive hunting, fishing, and rudimentary agricultural economies. Here it mattered not what the captain received in exchange for his hatchets and glass beads. Anything that he got at that early period, judged in the light of present day ethnology, was certain to be good. Weapons, household utensils, fans, ornaments, canoe paddles, tattooing instruments, and, in short, anything of native manufacture which could be found was brought back to Salem.⁵

Upon the sound foundation of this material, gradually accumulated during the first half of the last century, the extensive Polynesian collections of the Peabody Museum of Salem rests today. If the specimens had merely been collected and stored they would have been important. They are, however, doubly important because the members of the East India Marine Society had the good sense to catalogue their material. Thus for the majority of the pieces the name of the donor, who is also usually the collector, and the date of accession is given. This is extremely important for Polynesian specimens, for if enough dated pieces are available the progress of white and native acculturation can be definitely traced.

Though the Society was directly responsible for organizing the tendency of men in strange ports to collect curiosi-

⁵ Descriptions of many of the early specimens from Polynesia are described and figured in the following works: Lawrence Waters Jenkins, *The Hawaiian Portion of the Polynesian Collections in the Peabody Museum of Salem* (Salem, 1920). Ernest Stanley Dodge, *The Hervey Islands Adzes in the Peabody Museum of Salem* (Salem, 1937); *The Marquesas Islands Collections in the Peabody Museum of Salem* (Salem, 1939); *The New Zealand Maori Collection in the Peabody Museum of Salem* (Salem, 1941).

ties, and though nearly twenty individuals contributed specimens from Polynesia, the bulk of the material from this area was obtained and given, before 1830, by eight men, Nathaniel Page, William Putnam Richardson, William Richardson, Benjamin Vanderford, Thomas Meek, and Israel Williams, all Salem Captains who made several voyages to the Pacific. They were prolific collectors and the pieces obtained are among the best. Captain Clifford Crowninshield of Salem and Captain Mathew Folger of Nantucket gave a collection jointly. They apparently met somewhere in the Pacific, and Folger pooled his keepsakes with Crowninshields; who brought them back to Salem. Another good collection was received from John Fitzpatrick Jeffrie, an English captain who never came to Salem, but who evidently heard of the newly established museum and gave his contribution to a Salem captain whom he met in the Far East, to be delivered to Salem and credited to his name.⁶

Some of the finest objects, however, are an individual's only gift. Such is the large Hawaiian idol from John T. Prince, in 1846. At the time of discovery of the islands such figures were numerous in the native sacred enclosures. With the conversion of the natives to Christianity, the figures were ordered destroyed, and the Peabody Museum's is one of only three surviving, the others being in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Honolulu and the British Museum.

Another single object of considerable importance, but far less spectacular, is a fan from Mangaia, Cook Islands, given before 1867, which is one of four known specimens, only one other of which is in this country, at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut.

Of rarity also are the two large wickerwork neck ornaments worn by Tahitian chiefs as part of their mourning costumes. One was given by William Eldridge in 1809, and the other by an unknown donor before 1821. These were rare even in the flourishing days of Tahitian culture

6 Ernest S. Dodge, "An Early Letter to the Salem East India Marine Society" *The Essex Institute Historical Collections* (1941), Vol. LXXVII, pp. 254-261.

as they were worn only by a chief at the time of another chief's death.

It was also the good fortune of the Society's museum to receive a series of Marquesan fish hooks of a compound type, the only known specimens of the kind in existence at the present time. The single surviving example of a Marquesan *malo* or loin cloth was received from Captain Israel Williams in 1802. Unusual but also of considerable importance are the good series of Hawaiian and Marquesan fans, given by various individuals, and also large series of the well known adzes from the Cook Islands, and the carved paddles from the Austral Islands, nearly all with the known date of accession. As there is some controversy as to whether the elaborate carving on the adz handles and paddles is, or is not, post-European, these long series of definitely dated specimens are of utmost importance.

Weapons are especially well represented in the collections. They, with fish hooks, were apparently the favorite objects for the captains to pick up, or possibly they were more readily obtainable than other things.

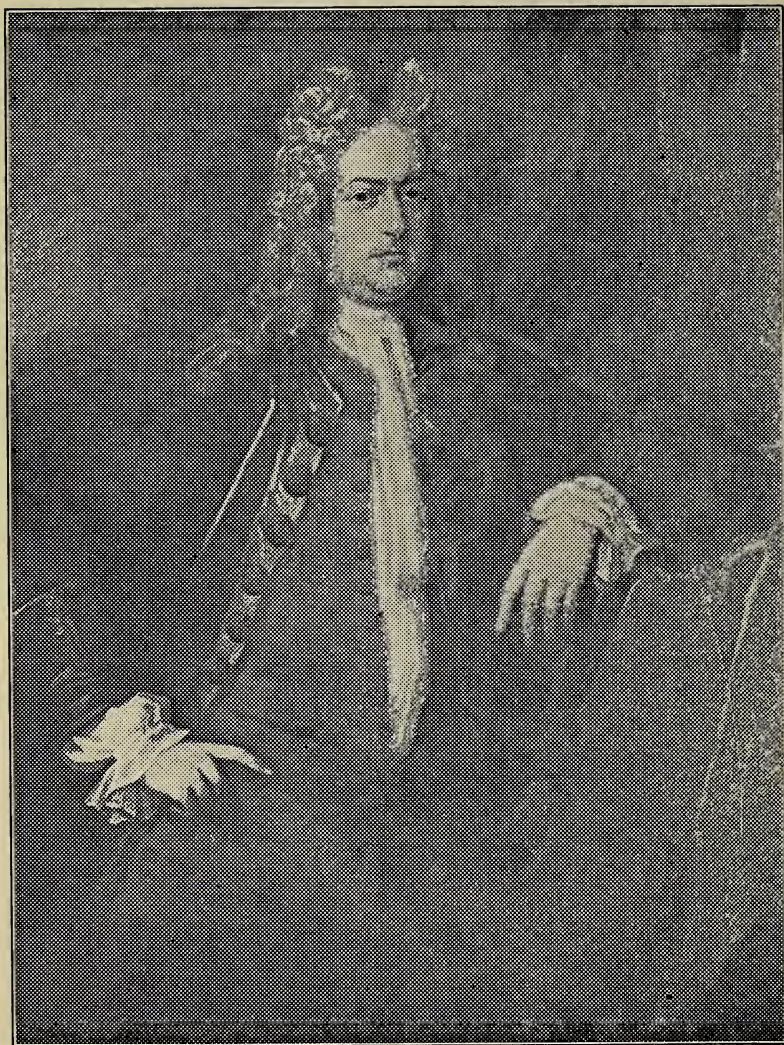
Early contacts between New England and the Fiji Islands in Melanesia are similar to those of New England with the Polynesian groups, and may appropriately be mentioned here. The material culture of the Fijis is closely related to that of western Polynesia and there has been considerable race mixture between the Fijians and the Polynesians of the Tonga group. During the first quarter of the nineteenth century a considerable trade was carried on from Salem to the Fiji Islands and thence to China. Ships called at the Fijis to load with sandlewood and beche-de-mer, sometimes procured by an agent left at the Islands on a previous voyage. Such an agent, left to direct the natives in accumulating a cargo for the next trip, was in an unusual situation offering excellent facilities for collecting native objects. With these contacts it was, therefore, inevitable that a good Fiji collection in the East India Marine Society's Museum should result. Almost literally cords of clubs were accumulated, all old and good. There was some Fiji pottery, along with many ornaments, bowls, canoe models, spears, tapa, and tapa

beaters. The rarest Fiji specimen is a model of a native temple made of sennit and having two towers. This is the only one of its kind in existence, all other models of temples having only one tower. It is also unusual because of the rare shell bead ornamentation (the Museum has nine of the thirteen known Fiji specimens so ornamented.)

Although material picked up in the other Melanesian groups is equally good it does not possess the unique quality, nor has it the importance, of the Polynesian and Fiji objects, since while Polynesian and Fiji material has been nearly unobtainable in the field for many years, it has been possible to make good collections in the other Melanesian groups up until very recently, and in some islands such as New Guinea even to the present time. Certain it is that students of the material culture of Polynesia would have far leaner pickings had not the sailors of a century ago saved so much when it was available.

CORRECTION

Through an oversight it is stated in the October 1944 Historical Collections on page 332 that the miniature of Joseph Bowditch reproduced opposite page 322 is shown in its actual size. The miniature itself measures only $1\frac{1}{8}$ by $\frac{7}{8}$ inches, so that the reproduction is nearly three times as high as the original painting.



GOVERNOR WILLIAM DUMMER

From a portrait in possession of the Academy

GOVERNOR DUMMER'S FAMILY AND
HIS SCHOOL

BY JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS

President Lowell once said to the writer that it may seem a strange thing but educational institutions are among the oldest establishments in the world. Dynasties and constitutions rise and fall and are forgotten but schools of learning once firmly established seem to go on and on forever.

This is because these institutions grow out of a need felt in a community to give the young folks a good start in life and, so long as they adapt themselves to meet that ever changing need, they go on and on. The oldest ones are so deeply rooted in their communities that it is hard to say when they really were started. In the case of the most ancient of the schools you can only say that there were scholars at Padua or Cairo or Damascus as early as such and such a date. They may have been there much earlier.

It is this belief in the continuity of human institutions which justifies starting this story of Governor Dummer Academy with Richard Dummer. About six miles up the line to London from the dock at Southampton, the train passes very near Bishopstoke where Richard lived before he came to America, so it was not very difficult for him to plan a voyage. He and his family had lived in that vicinity for at least four generations and evidently were landed gentry. He belonged to a Company of Husbandmen, who were interested in planting a colony in America very early, which held the so-called Plough Patent for land on the Kennebec River, but he evidently did not develop much interest in it.¹ His family had some mill interests in England and he probably learned the business of grinding grain there. Just before he left for America, he settled a rent charge on his lands in England of forty shillings a year for the poor of Bishopstoke and here is the first evidence of that trait of benevolence and public spirit so strong in the Dummer family.²

1 Winthrop Papers iii, 68, 101, 103. Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, 4th Ser. vii, 90.

2 H. F. Clark and H. W. Foote: Jeremiah Dummer, 6.

Richard sailed for America in the *Whale* from Southampton, with his wife Mary, the daughter of Rev. Thomas Mason, Vicar of Odsham, and reached Boston, May 26, 1632. Rev. John Wilson, soon to be pastor of the First Church of Boston, came on the same ship and also, which may perhaps indicate Dummer's later interest in a cattle farm at Newbury, there came seventy cows. Considering the minute size of those ships, it must have been a little like crossing in the haymow of a floating barn.

Richard first settled at Roxbury and the very next year built the first water-power grist mill to be built in New England at the spot now known as Roxbury Crossing.³ He rapidly became a prominent man in the colony and was chosen an assistant, which was somewhat equivalent to our Governor's councillor, in 1635 and 1636.⁴

In the early spring of 1635, Richard Dummer was among those moving for the settlement of Newbury and in association with Richard Saltonstall, Henry Sewall and sundry gentlemen in England had become interested in the importation of cattle, and a farm not exceeding 500 acres was laid out for Mr. Dummer "about the falls of Newbury",⁵ and he and John Spencer were authorized to build a mill there.⁶ This grant includes the land still owned by the Academy, so for over three hundred years that has been the land of the Dummers and of the Governor's school.

It is easy to see why this was good cattle country at the beginning when every inch of upland had to be cleared with axe and plough. The great meadows supplying vast quantities of meadow hay were of inestimable value. Meadow hay may not be prime feed for cows, but it will at least keep cows and "beef critters" alive through the first winters and that was a great advantage. Further if those meadows brought to Newbury the Dummer and Sewall families, two of the most brilliant families in the colony, they helped the town enormously.

Meanwhile Mrs. Dummer had been drawn into the orbit of that tempestuous female, Ann Hutchinson, and her

3 Winthrop: *Diary*, Ed. Savage, i, 116.

4 Shurtcliff: *Col. Records* i, 145, 174.

5 Shurtcliff *Col. Records* i. 146.

6 *Ibid*, 149.

husband joined the party of young Sir Harry Vane, who was also under Ann's influence. When the inevitable conflict between disorganized turmoil and the conservative elements of the colony came in 1637, Winthrop was re-elected Governor, Ann and her friends were driven out and Richard Dummer was dropped from the Court of Assistants and disarmed. It does not appear that Richard took any active part in the controversy. Probably it was his wife's interest that drew him along and about this time she must have died. Presently he sailed for England, but the new country had evidently secured a firm hold on him. The very next year he returned and brought with him his brother Stephen, his wife and six children and ten servants which included a tailor, a carpenter and a baker. This must have been a substantial reinforcement to the company in Newbury. Among Stephen's children was Jane, a little girl of ten, but that little girl was destined to be the grandmother of a famous race. When her father returned to England ten years later, little Jane remained as the wife of Henry Sewall. There are three Chief Justices of Massachusetts among her descendants and many other distinguished men including the poet Longfellow.

Richard Dummer bore no malice for his rough treatment by the colony and was the largest contributor to the fund to rehabilitate John Winthrop when the Governor lost his property. He was soon granted a monopoly for grinding corn in Newbury and often represented the town in the General Court.

The only child by his first marriage was Shubail Dummer who graduated from Harvard College and became the minister of York, Maine. Long years afterwards he was murdered by the Indians at his own door. In 1644 Richard Dummer married as his second wife Frances Burr, a widow with four children. They had five more of whom Jeremiah, the eldest, is the one who interests us most for he was the father of two famous children, Jeremiah the agent of the colony and the author of the famous defence of the New England Charters and Governor William Dummer, the founder of the school.

It must be remembered that Richard Dummer was involved in bringing up four of widow Burr's children as

well as the five with which she presently supplied him, and Jeremiah was fifth in the procession. The Dummers were business men, not in the scholastic tradition apparently, so Jeremiah was not sent to Harvard College but was apprenticed to John Hull when fourteen years old.

John Hull was a silversmith of note but he was a good deal more beside. He was mint master and treasurer of the colony as well as a merchant of wide interests. His daughter Hannah married Samuel Sewall, a son of Jane Dummer, and a cousin of Jeremiah. The story is told that when Hannah Hull was married her father brought out an enormous pair of scales and seating Hannah on one side filled the other side with pine tree shillings till they lifted Hannah off the ground. That was to be her dowry.

Anyway Hull was a good man and an able man. The eight years that Jeremiah lived in his family were well spent and gave him a good start. Like his patron, Jeremiah was much more than a silversmith. He soon was in a position to employ apprentices himself and among others came a member of the Van Rensselaer family of New York. During the later years of the seventeenth century he turned out much fine work. The First Congregational churches of Cambridge, Salem, Marblehead, Essex, Hampton Falls, South Berwick, Boston, Milton and Dorchester all own examples of his work and you will find his work as far afield as New Haven, Stratford, Farmington, and Guilford, Connecticut.

Jeremiah Dummer in 1672 married Anna Atwater, the daughter of a prosperous merchant who had moved to Boston from New Haven. As part of her marriage portion her father gave her a piece of land on King Street (now called State Street) in Boston almost where the Exchange Building and the State Street Trust Co. are located. It is interesting to note that this was valued at £300.⁷ It was an attractive house undoubtedly for it had been the home of Joshua Atwater and his wife who were well-to-do people. Here Jeremiah Dummer lived all his life and eight years later he bought a strip of land adjoining with the privilege of joining his gable end with the gable of John

⁷ Suffolk Co. Deeds, ix, 58.

Hayward's house about to be built, so it looks as if State Street was even then building up into solid blocks.⁸

All of Jeremiah's nine children were probably born in this house but only four of them lived to grow up. Of these, William, the eldest, whom we are especially interested in, was born in 1678 and baptized in the Old South Church, Sept. 29th of that year. Jeremiah, who was nearly as famous, was three years younger. It is curious how utterly ignorant we are of the childhood and youthhood of two hundred and fifty years ago. In all the diaries and letters of that period children are rarely mentioned except when they are born or die, which does not help much in drawing a picture of their young lives. Samuel Sewall of the famous diary was a cousin of Jeremiah Dummer and they visited back and forth between each other's houses and were on the friendliest terms, but of the Dummer children just three mentions can be found. The birth of Mary, the elder sister of William, is just recorded, and the death of his little brother Richard of smallpox only receives a mention of thirteen words. In describing the funeral procession of his little son Stephen, the Diarist says "Billy Dummer led Betty." Billy, later the Governor, was then nine and his cousin Betty Sewall was seven. It is a pretty picture of the two children walking solemnly together on this sad occasion but that is absolutely the only mention I find of William Dummer till after he reached England a full grown man. No doubt he had the best schooling the town afforded and he may have attended John Cole's school on Tremont Row opposite the head of Cornhill and later the Latin School of the famous Ezekiel Cheever who tutored Michael Wigglesworth, the dismal poet of *The Day of Doom*, in New Haven before he came to Boston to be the instructor of Cotton Mather and other famous men.⁹ William no doubt had all the schooling he would take and his younger brother Jeremiah graduated from Harvard College and sought to enter the ministry, in fact did preach at least one sermon highly commended by Cotton Mather, before he went away to England.

But to return to the father of the two boys. Jeremiah

⁸ Suffolk Co. Deeds, xii, 154.

⁹ Winsor: Memorial History of Boston, ii, XLIV, 503; iv, 238.

the father was one of the leading men of Boston from 1670 on. He was a captain in the Militia, a selectman of Boston and one of the party that opposed the arbitrary government of Andros. On that dramatic 20th of April in 1689 when the King's governor was displaced and a council organized "for the safety of the people and the conservation of peace" the names of both Jeremiah Dummer and his brother Richard¹⁰ were of the council which contained all the eminent patriots of the colony. For three years until the arrival of Governor Phipps with the Provincial Charter they continued to govern the colony. For many years he was Justice of the Peace and in 1702 was made Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Suffolk County of which he was already treasurer.

Jeremiah Dummer became much more of a craftsman than only a silversmith. His ability in engraving his silver suggests that he may have been the engraver of the Massachusetts Paper Currency¹¹. He early began to refer to himself as "Goldsmith and Merchant" and by 1685 had begun to interest himself in small vessels going to England.¹² This business must have grown rapidly because between 1697 and 1713 he had an interest in at least eleven different vessels usually owned jointly by six or seven different merchants including some in Salem, London and Portugal. This shipping activity went on right through the French wars and included fitting out privateers to protect the New England trade¹³.

Jeremiah was also a considerable land owner and bought and sold various parcels in Boston and other property further afield. He bought some Iron Works in Braintree and a hundred acres in Newbury and Rowley. He was part owner of a grant of 10,000 acres in Leicester and Brookfield and of a large grant in North Yarmouth on Casco Bay. All these various activities made him one of the richest men in the colony and clearly show that his sons may well have inherited brains, energy and character.

10 Hutchinson's Hist. of Mass. Mayo; i, 324.

11 Clarke and Foote: Jeremiah Dummer, 27.

12 Sewall's Letter Book, Mass. Hist. Soc. Col., 6th, i, 21.

13 Clarke and Foote: Jeremiah Dummer, 30, 31.



THE LITTLE RED SCHOOLHOUSE

The original building, erected soon after the Governor's death.

There is, however, one activity of his which remains to be mentioned. Within the last twenty years, four paintings have come to light that can be attributed to him. Where in his busy life he found time for such work is hard to see but the evidence seems most plausible. These are a self-portrait of Jeremiah and his wife Mary, both dated 1691, and portraits supposed to be of John Coney and of his wife, who was Jeremiah's sister-in-law, both dated 1708, which all bear the signature of Jeremiah Dummer. These pictures seem to have descended in the Dummer family which went to Canada at the time of the Revolution. Mr. Henry Wilder Foote has discussed at great length the genuineness of these portraits and leans toward the idea that Jeremiah painted them.¹⁴ The most interesting fact about his painting to us is that he probably also painted the portraits of the Governor and his wife which are at Governor Dummer Academy.

A word should be said of Jeremiah, the Governor's famous brother though he spent most of his life in England. He received a Ph.D. from the University of Utrecht in 1704. On his return to Boston he was greeted as Dr. Dummer. Apparently he was most fluent in Latin,¹⁵ but even this did not make him an acceptable preacher, so he returned to England in 1708 and became immersed in politics. He seems to have been more appreciated in England than in America and the *London Daily Advertiser*¹⁶ said of him long after: "During a considerable part of Queen Ann's Reign he was intimate with and greatly valued by all the ministers and the brightest genius of that time, he being well skilled in the learned languages and some of the modern, thoroughly acquainted with the most valuable parts of literature and a graceful speaker. He had a fine memory and being of a communicative and beneficent disposition, his company was eagerly sought by all lovers of good sense and humanity." He wrote two famous pamphlets. The first "A Letter to a Noble Lord about the late expedition to Canada" pointed out that the conquest of Canada was of the greatest importance to England years before the

14 Clarke and Foote: Jeremiah Dummer 101-128.

15 Sewall's Diary; ii, 111.

16 Quoted in Sewall's Diary ii, 53 note.

English statesmen recognized it. The other pamphlet written while his brother was governing Massachusetts is a very noble defence of the New England Charters and it served to defeat a bill then pending in the House of Commons to annul the charters. For many years Jeremiah was the agent of the colony in London and he was a very able and faithful agent. He never hesitated to inform the General Court when he believed they were prejudicing their position in England. This able frankness finally cost him his office and he was dismissed at the very time that he was publishing his defence of the charters.

He was also the agent for the colony of Connecticut and was instrumental in persuading that wealthy reprobate, Elihu Yale, to make the donation of books which resulted in the Connecticut College being called Yale. The Dummer family has certainly had much to do with education in America. Jeremiah, Jr., never married and died in England in 1739.

And now we come to William Dummer, eldest son of Jeremiah, Sr. When he went to England is not stated anywhere, but he was in Boston as late as May 4, 1702, when he enlisted in the Artillery company.¹⁷ He is reported at Plymouth, England, previous to the appointment of Governor Shute, and Hutchinson,¹⁸ who must have known him, remarks in his history that Mr. William Dummer had "married a daughter of Mr. Dummer, one of the commissioners at Plimouth, and was in the same post there himself but his wife dying he had returned to his native country." We may work on the theory that William went to England in connection with some of his father's shipping interests and naturally looked up the numerous Dummer relatives there. Plymouth was a favorite port of Colonial ships and perhaps he was stationed there. Presently he married one of the cousins and settled down in Plymouth where he got a position by her father's influence and on her death decided to return home.

He arrived at Marblehead four weeks out of Milford Haven on May 27, 1712.¹⁹ He was then thirty-four

¹⁷ Sewall: Diary, ii, 55.

¹⁸ Hutchinson: Hist. of Mass. Mayo Ed., ii, 161.

¹⁹ Sewall: Diary, ii, 349.

years old, a widower without children and by all accounts an attractive man. His portrait certainly shows him a genial and handsome personage. The day after his arrival, Governor Dudley invited Judge Sewall and his brother and Colonel Vetch out to his house in Roxbury to dine and Colonel Hutchinson surprised them all by bringing Mr. William Dummer with him. William did not remain an unattached young widower long, for on April 26, 1714, he married Catharine, the twelfth child of Governor Thomas Dudley. In Sewall's diary there is a mention of a party at Weston given by the Governor on June 11, "on account of his daughter's marriage to Mr. William Dummer," but just why then and there is not clear.²⁰

William soon returned to England with his bride. Probably he knew that the quarrel now going on between his new father-in-law and the Council and the General Court could not last much longer and he wanted to be near the field of operations when the new Governor was appointed. William Dummer must have made a very hurried trip to London. He seems to have been in Boston as late as May 23, 1716 when he was in disagreement with Lt. Gov. Tailer,²¹ and arrived back from London, Sept. 30, with Governor Shute and was sworn in Oct. 5, 1716.

Governor Dudley's regime had ended in a very definite quarrel with the General Court and the Council and a Colonel Burgess had been appointed Governor while Lieut. Governor Tailer remained in office. Burgess was, however, persuaded to withdraw for a payment of £1000 supplied, jointly by Jonathan Belcher, late governor of Massachusetts, and Jeremiah Dummer, the agent of the Colony, and by the influence of Sir William Ashurst the appointments were given to Colonel Shute and Mr. William Dummer,²² though Col. Tailer refused to yield the Lt. Governor's place to Mr. Dummer until he was actually sworn in.²³ Colonel Shute was a worthy gentleman in his fifties who bore the reputation of being a humane gentleman and a friend of liberty, but he inherited a quarrel with the

20 Sewall: Diary, iii, 5.

21 Sewall: Diary, iii, 84.

22 Mayo's Hutchinson: ii, 161.

23 Sewall: Diary, iii, 105.

General Court from Governor Dudley and if anything it grew in warmth. The question of a fixed salary for the governor was also pressed strongly on instructions from England, but the General Court preferred to keep that matter in their hands, paying liberally if the governor followed their wishes and keeping him very short if he didn't. The constant bickering over this and other matters finally got on Governor Shute's nerves so that, without any word to the Council or the General Court, he went on board the *Seahorse*, a man-of-war lying at Nantasket, and presently transferred to a ship bound for England. Lieutenant Governor Dummer alone seems to have known of it and he produced in the Council, on Dec. 28, 1722, a letter from the Governor announcing his departure and saying he would return in the Fall.²⁴ A few days later the Lieutenant Governor took the oaths of office as Governor and Commander-in-Chief, sent for the deputies and made his speech to them.²⁵ Judge Sewall, after the representatives left, rose in his seat and addressed the Governor on his duties, stating the difficulties which confronted him. Among other things, he remarked: "Yet you have this for your encouragement, that the people you have to do with are a part of the Israel of God and you may expect to have of the Prudence and Patience of Moses communicated to you for your conduct."²⁶ He needed the patience not only of Moses but of Job to get on with the General Court but he had a great deal of it, fortunately. He tried loyally to support Col. Shute's position but without the irritating temper of that gentleman. He overlooked the petty insults even to the reduction of his own allowances and applied himself vigorously to those matters of most importance to the welfare of the province.

The harrying of the frontier by the Indians egged on by the French Jesuit missionaries especially in Maine,^{26a} but extending down to central Massachusetts, was a most burning issue. Even the fisherman on the coast

²⁴ Sewall: Diary, iii, 316.

²⁵ Journal of House of Reps., Mass. Hist. Soc. Ed, iv, 179.

²⁶ Sewall: Diary, iii, 318; Hutchinson: History (Mayo Ed.) ii, 220.

^{26a} See F. H. Eckstorm: The Attack on Norridgewock, 1724, New England Quarterly, vii, 341.

began to suffer from cruising Indians who had captured some vessels at the Isles of Shoals and in them went in pursuit of other vessels.²⁷ Fort Dummer at Dummerstown, Vermont, was built during this war and named in the governor's honor. Governor Dummer guided and directed the defence of the province and finally an expedition was sent against Norridgewock which was the center from which the attacks in Maine were directed, the village was burned, the Jesuit missionary killed and the Indians completely defeated. The famous expedition of John Lovewell of Dunstable against the Pequaket Indians near Conway in which Lovewell and most of his men were killed but which broke the power of the Pequakets, was part of this war. The treaty which ended this war, called for many years "Governor Dummer's War," was made by Gov. Dummer, Gov. Wentworth of New Hampshire, Paul Mascarene, Esq. of the Massachusetts Council and a commissioner from Nova Scotia. It was called by Governor Hutchinson years afterward,²⁸ "the most judicious that has ever been made with the Indians," and resulted in a long period of peace. The Rev. Samuel Niles, the contemporary historian of the Indian Wars and whose son served in the forces, speaks of the "prudence and good conduct" of Governor Dummer which "made him acceptable to all through the whole course of his administration."²⁹

After the war, Governor Dummer went his slow conciliatory way only making issues of the things that really mattered. He accepted such grants as the house made him and tried not to interfere in religious affairs. Gov. Shute, however, kept trying to stir up trouble in London and the Bishop of London made a furious fuss when the congregational ministers wanted to call a synod, assented to by both houses, the governor and the council. Even nature conspired to make trouble with the great earthquake of Oct. 29, 1727, the shock of which was greater in Newbury than anywhere else in Massachusetts, where it "continued above a minute and a half and was accompanied by a great

27 Hutchinson: History, Mayo Ed. ii, 233.

28 Hutchinson: History (Mayo Ed.) ii, 240.

29 S. Niles: History of the Indian and French Wars, Mass. Hist. Soc. Col., 4th Ser. v. 345.

roaring noise and the tops of many chimneys were shaken off."³⁰

Gov. Shute was finally retired from the governorship on a pension nearly six years after his departure without ever returning to New England, but, George II having acceded to the throne, a friend of his was appointed governor of New York and a place had to be found for the displaced governor. Thus William Burnet, son of Bishop Burnet, came to be governor of Massachusetts. He reached Boston, July 13, 1728, and his short rule of a little over a year was a continual quarrel with other branches of the government and had little to commend it. Two events, however, closely touched Essex County. Provoked with the people of Boston, he called the General Court to meet at Salem which for a brief period became the capital of Massachusetts. The other event was more personal. His pretty daughter married William Brown of Salem who built for her on what we call "Folly" Hill where the Salem Reservoir now is, a lovely country mansion. The people called it Brown's folly and all that now remains of that beautiful estate of two hundred years ago are a few elm trees set out to line the driveway, which are still silhouetted against the sky.³¹ Well! Governor Burnet's carriage tipped over one day as he drove along the causeway leading to the bridge in Cambridge, he was spilled into the cold November water, caught pneumonia and died, and once more Governor Dummer ruled in his stead to the relief of all. Judge Sewall wrote him "These are to congratulate your honor and this province upon your returning again to be their Governor and Commander in Chief."³²

Governor Dummer moved the General Court back to Boston and things ran smoothly for another year. Then Jonathan Belcher was made governor and Col. Tailer, whom William Dummer had succeeded fourteen years before, was reappointed Lieutenant Governor.

Hutchinson says "Mr. Dummer's administration has been justly well spoken of. His general aim was to do

30 Hutchinson: Hist. of Mass. Mayo Ed. ii, 250-252.

31 See R. S. Rantoul: A Stately Pleasure House, Essex Inst. Hist. Col, XXXI, 205.

32 Sewall: Letter Book, Mass. His. Soc. Col., 6th Ser. ii, 275.

public service. . . . He retired with honor and after some years was elected to the council where from respect to his former commission he took the place of president.”³³

When Governor Dummer came back from England he seems to have lived in Boston on School Street about where the Savings Bank now stands. In 1712, his father, Jeremiah, transferred to him the property in Newbury, “houses, lands and farms . . . more especially the farm, houses . . . near unto Rowley Mill upon Easton’s River, . . . being four hundred acres bounded northerly by land of Mr. Sewall and Joshua Boynton, Esq., easterly by the Falls River, Westerly by the old Road and southerly by Easton’s River.”³⁴ This is the Academy property which had then been in the hands of the Dummers since the founding of the colony and is still in the hands of their successors.

William Dummer must have taken possession soon after it was turned over to him and before his father’s death in 1718. He married Catharine in 1714 and it is safe to assume that he soon began to spend his summers in Newbury. In 1716 Governor Shute, on his way to Portsmouth, was met by the Newbury troop of horse and escorted to the house of Lieutenant Governor Dummer where he spent the night and was finely entertained.³⁵ From this entry in the Boston News Letter it is probable that Mr. Dummer was already living at the farm, but it does not follow that the present mansion house was then built. There seems to be no statement that presents satisfactory evidence of just when it was built. I do not find that houses of similar architecture were built much before 1735 so I am inclined to believe it was built after the Governor retired from office. It was situated on the Old Bay Road running north from Boston to the Eastern settlements and the most important road in New England, and perhaps in the English Colonies, in the early part of the 18th Century. The road wound from Rowley past the Dummer Mill up a portion, now discontinued, near the school water tower down by Miss Deagan’s House and on across Thorla’s Bridge. Until

33 Hutchinson: History, Mayo Ed. ii, 278, 279.

34 Ipswich Deeds, Book 25, p. 238.

35 Boston News Letter, Oct. 1716.

the Parker River Bridge was built, in 1759, this was the main trunk line to the eastward. It must have been a pretty rough track and in the Governor's day no wheeled vehicle faster than an ox-cart attempted it. All passengers travelled on horseback but, nevertheless, by the Governor's door must have passed, one day or another, all the colonial governors of New Hampshire and Massachusetts, British and Colonial Generals and commissioners to settle the various treaties with the Indians. It was the shortest route and one all the marching troops undoubtedly took.

On a July afternoon in 1746, Sir William Pepperell, the conqueror of Louisburg and now a baronet, just returned from that arduous but glorious campaign in the forests and swamps of Cape Breton, came riding down the hill surrounded by his officers in scarlet uniforms and paused to be greeted by the old Governor. Byfield Parish was surely no back eddy in the Governor's day and, be it said, the nineteenth century has only transferred the traffic from his front door to his back door over the Newburyport Turnpike.

How much of his time he spent in Newbury and how much in Boston there is no means of telling. Almost the last entry in his cousin Samuel Sewall's Diary³⁶ under date of Oct. 13, 1729, mentions his calling to say that he was going to Newbury, in a day or so, to spend a week or a fortnight, so, even before he retired, he was in the habit of spending his spare time at the farm. Strange as it seems to us now, it was then usual for persons not in haste to make the trip in two days. They broke the journey at Salem or Ipswich. It was therefore hardly worth while to come down for less than a week on a pleasure trip. With advancing age, no doubt the Governor spent longer periods at the farm and made less trips to and fro. He and Catharine had no children but they were hospitable and sociable and no doubt had many visitors. Would that he had kept a diary like Judge Sewall's!

It has been pretty difficult to see just why the Parish was named Byfield after Judge Nathaniel Byfield of Bristol, Rhode Island which was then, to be sure, within the boun-

daries of Massachusetts. There is a letter in Judge Sewall's letter book, dated 1704, informing Judge Byfield of the honor, followed three years later by another letter inviting him to contribute substantially to the support of his parish.³⁷ There is nothing unusual in that sequence of events as most people well realize, but whether Judge Byfield did as he should, is not revealed. The parish was well established when Governor Dummer acquired the farm and he was a regular attendant at the meeting house but we know very little of his life on the farm or of his life in Boston, for that matter. For thirty years after his retirement he lived as a private citizen but none of his papers have come down to us and none of his private letters. He had a large and lucrative farm and thought the income of that farm sufficient endowment for the school he founded. Farms brought in an excellent income in those days and the income was no doubt substantial. At any rate it did support the school for the first forty or fifty years.

The Governor and his good wife had some thirty quiet years together with summers in Newbury and winters in Boston. Their good taste governed the building of one of the loveliest colonial mansions in New England and furnishing it with tasteful furniture, if you can judge from the few chairs we have left. The portraits show the Governor as a genial, unruffled personage which confirms all the descriptions of him. One cannot be so sure of the temper of his wife from her portrait. She obviously missed little that was going on and looks as if she might have had a sharp tongue. She is still keeping her eye on the chate-lain of her mansion house. Mrs. Dummer died in Boston some nine years before her husband and the Governor's sister, Anna Powell, then looked after him until her death, when her children assumed the duty. William Dummer himself died at his Boston home on School Street on Oct. 10, 1761, and was buried in a tomb still standing in the Granary Burying Ground and bearing his name. He was a man that any school could be proud to have as a founder. No word of scandal ever touched his name. He was a very faithful and very able servant of Massachusetts and few if

³⁷ Sewall's Letter Book 1,297, 345 in Mass. Hist. Soc. Col. 6th Ser. Vol. 1.

any gentlemen of his time stood better in all respects than he.

His will is an interesting document and there are two items which impress one as probably unusual. One was the founding of the school and the other was that he freed all his negro slaves both in Boston and Newbury. His sister, Anna Powell, then living, and his nephews and nieces are provided for as might have been expected, but the very first item in the will and the one to which he evidently gave the most thought was the bequeathing of all his land in Newbury to Dr. Charles Chauncey and Mr. Thomas Foxcroft, ministers of the First church in Boston, and Mr. Nathaniel Dummer of Newbury "upon this special use and trust, viz: that the whole of the rents, issues and profits thereof shall in the first place be appropriated . . . to the building of a grammar school house to be erected on the most convenient part of my said farm according to the appointment of the then minister of the Parish of Byfield so called in Newbury aforesaid and five of the principal inhabitants freeholders of said parish that shall be elected at the annual meeting." After the school-house was built the annual income was to be used for the maintenance of a grammar school master. The appointment of the master also was to be by the minister and five freeholders of Byfield, but once appointed, he could only be displaced by the Overseers of Harvard College on charges preferred against him. The old gentleman guaranteed the freedom of his teacher pretty well against interference by the committee!

It will be seen that the property was owned by the three trustees and their heirs without any provision for successors, while the management was in the hands of the Byfield minister and five annually elected freeholders, but after the school was built and the master chosen, they had nothing more to do till he died or was displaced on charges of inability or "a profligate wicked life".

The school was promptly built, the parish committee appointed Samuel Moody master, and his brother manager of the farm. For twenty years the school ran with brilliant success. It opened with twenty-eight boys and continued to attract the best boys of Eastern Massachusetts as long as

Master Moody retained his efficiency. When it became necessary to make changes, the weakness of the plan became evident. Dr. Chauncey alone of the trustees was still alive, the parish had had nothing to do for twenty years but had duly elected the committee of five freeholders. They did not assume it was their job to retire Master Moody and select a successor and things were beginning to slip. It was Dr. Chauncey who made, in 1783, the wise move of incorporating the school under a self-perpetuating board of fifteen trustees in whom the management should be vested. The Parish was astounded and started to protest but never seems to have gotten around to it. Dr. Chauncey's wise move undoubtedly insured the life of the institution and the perpetuation of Governor Dummer's wise and generous plan through these one hundred and eighty years. Such institutions are as great a benefit to the communities where they are, as to the boys who attend. Just look over the towns of New England and see how every community where a good school or college is located, has thrived and those where the old Academies have been allowed to wither up and die, have decayed along with their schools.

On Oct. 26, 1761 the Boston News Letter reported the death of William Dummer and said that his funeral on the 16th was attended with every mark of respect due to so eminent a person.

The Rev. Mather Byles pronounced the funeral oration and like most such early efforts he tried rather to humiliate the audience than to extol and eulogize the subject. That belongs to our weaker and more effeminate age. He preached on the subject, *The Vanity of Man at his Best Estate*. Of course the text is from Ecclesiastes, xii, 7, 8 "Vanity of Vanities, saith the preacher, all is Vanity". He proceeds to classify the attributes of human nature under six heads and prove they are all vanity and, of course, that William Dummer was no exception though "in him we have, in many respects, seen man at his best estate" and finally in his twenty-five pages of moralizing he does pronounce this rather fine encomium on the worthy Governor: "How nobly, for a shining course of years, did he fill the first chair of government in the province, with superior

wisdom, and, I think, unrivalled acceptance and applause! How did he retire from it, followed with the gratitude and blessings of a whole people! In the calm leisure of his recess, in what amiable and venerable lights did he shine in his domestic and amicable connections! His steady family devotions, his stated retirements to his closet, his applications to the entertaining and pious pages of various kinds, his friendly entertainments, and his works of piety and charity, filled up his useful hours. This church can witness to the constancy and solemnity of his exemplary attendance on the divine worship; while his honors to Christ will be still seen here, on the communion table, and in the costly volume from which the work of God is read every Lord's-day."

The newspaper treated him equally kindly and it seems worth while to give their statement new currency.

"Scarce any one ever pass'd thro' life with a more unspotted character, or perform'd it's various duties with more universal esteem. In the gayest scenes of youth, he was preserv'd from the destructive paths of vice; and in maturer age, was a shining example of the most amiable virtues.

"In the beginning of the reign of George I, he was appointed our lieutenant governor. Upon the return of Colonel Shute to Great Britain, the chief command of the province devolv'd upon him. In this station he appear'd with distinguished lustre. The wise, incorrupt, and successful administration of Mr. Dummer, will always be remembered with honor, and consider'd as a pattern worthy of the imitation of all future governors.—Uninfluenced by party prejudices superior to all mercenary attachments, he discovered no passion in his public character, but love to his country, and fidelity to his royal master.

"Having fill'd the chair for several years, with dignity and usefulness; when a successor was appointed, he retir'd to enjoy the unenvied satisfactions of a private life; with the approbation of a good conscience, and the applause of his country.

"In his domestic character, he ever appear'd the affectionate husband, — the indulgent master, — the benevolent friend."

From this somewhat complicated collection of eulogies you still get a picture of a strong and kindly man who did good service to his church, his birthplace and his country in the highest offices for more than sixty years, and may I also add who left behind him a lasting memorial where he hoped boys might be trained to serve along similar lines. For one hundred and eighty years, sometimes better and sometimes worse, that school has continued to serve its town and country and never more effectively than today. It began with twenty-eight students; today there are 185. Between 1931 and 1943 about 700 boys were graduated. 560 are now in the fighting forces, of whom over 225 are commissioned officers. Its sons can be found on every battlefield of the world where American troops are serving, and I believe they have imbibed those fundamental principles of liberty and justice which are the birthright of New England.

JOHN DERBY'S ORDER FOR A WATCH IN
ENGLAND, 1796.

Mr. [Fred] Frazier

Salem Jan.y 1796

Sir:

I wish you on your arrival in London to be good enough to procure for me & send me in company with the Articles my Father has wished you to get for his Family. a *Ladys Gold Watch & Chain*, to cost about Thirty Guineas. I would wish attention paid to the *neatness & richness*, rather than *show*. & also not exactly like those you are to purchase for my father, but equally elegant — I wish you likewise to have made with the Hair inclosed an appendant to the watch in memory of a brother of Mrs. Derbys, whom she has recently lost — let the device & motto, be the most emblematical of her affection & sorrow for him. — the reverse laid with the hair around which marked Samuel Barton obit 16 Nov. 1795 AE 20 — to cost about 3 or 4 Guineas When you send these things, with my Fathers, you will please to direct them particularly for *me* — — —

I have agreed with him, that you may purchase the articles for me from the same funds you procure his & I am to repay him in Salem.

I hope that this will not be troubling you too far. — I was led to do it from not knowing any person in whose judgment I could so fully confide. — You will please to accept my best wishes for your happiness & believe me to be your sincere well wisher.

John Derby Jr.

London ye 6th Aug.t 1796

Dear Sir

Your little Commission to me in your letter of ye 17th Jan.y is executed & I hope you will approve of any choice, the cost is as follows

a Gold Watch Capped & Jewell'd	
Gold hands &c	23. 2 —
a Handsome Watch Chain	6. 7.6
1 Medallion - - - - -	4. 8
	<hr/>
	33.17.6
	11. 5.10
	<hr/>
	45. 3.4

as you desire they will be chargd to your good Father in account with Lane & Fraser. They are packd with his articles. I hope they will please you.

I thank you for your good wishes. You have mine sincerely for your self & family. I shall think it a great pleasure to have anything to do for you, none of your family have any occasion to make any apology for any little trouble they think I may have for I cannot call it by any such name. I have already often thought & in future shall often think with pleasure of the many happy hours I spent last year at Salem. Since my arrival my time has been pretty well engross'd but I can always find time to write to a Friend, with my respects to Mrs. Derby, I conclude my self

Dear Sir

Your obliged Friend

Fred Fraser

—Essex Institute, Derby Mss., vol. 15, pp 47, 56

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL'S REMINISCENCES OF SALEM, WRITTEN IN 1885.

FROM THE FRANCIS H. LEE COLLECTION IN THE
ESSEX INSTITUTE

During the early 1880's, Mr. Francis H. Lee began a collection of historical material relating to Salem in the nineteenth century. He wrote many letters to former residents of Salem asking for their reminiscences and he received many replies which are of value to us now. These letters are the property of the Essex Institute.

Leverett Saltonstall was the son of Leverett, the first Mayor of Salem, and Mary Elizabeth (Sanders) Saltonstall. He was born in Salem, March 16, 1825, and married in Salem, October 19, 1854, Rose, daughter of John Clarke and Harriet (Rose) Lee. He fitted for college at the Salem Latin School, was graduated from Harvard in 1884, and, with his classmate Dabney, went to Fayal, where the latter's father and grandfather had been consul. Upon the death of his father in 1845, he returned to this country and began the study of law at the Harvard Law School, graduating in 1847, and thereafter practicing in Boston from 1850-1862, when he retired. From 1885-1890, he served as Collector of the Port of Boston, by appointment of President Cleveland. For many years he was an Overseer of Harvard and served as President of many important Massachusetts organizations. His children were Leverett, Jr., Richard M., Rose Lee (Mrs. George West), Mary Elizabeth (Mrs. Louise Agassiz Shaw), Philip and Endicott Peabody Saltonstall.

Chestnut Hill
Aug. 25, 1885

My dear Frank:

I am going to try to give you a few of my recollections of dear old Salem, especially of Chestnut Street and its neighborhood, but as I sit down to ponder over the scenes of my boyhood, the past comes up before my mind so filled with the people and the scenes of other days, that I know not where to begin nor what to select for your interesting

and curious collection. During my childhood and until I was eleven years old, the block occupied by my father and uncle Nathaniel Saltonstall was not so large as it now is. The front door was behind a projection of the front parlor entered from the yard. The addition of piazza and dining room with room over it was made in 1836. Not quite so large an addition was made to my uncle's house. One of my earliest recollections is, and it is very vivid, that an old bakehouse stood on Flint Street next to the Fogg House facing the sidewalk on Chestnut Street, where "Uncle Joel Goldthwait made hot cross buns." His door stood wide open, and we children used to stand looking in, while he kneaded his dough by sitting on a long wooden arm while he kept jumping up and moving it around upon the dough which was on a low solid wooden stand of some sort; and while he moved round and round up and down, the old man talked to the crowd of youngsters at the door. For some reason old Prince Savage, the venerable ex-slave, is associated in my mind with this old bakery of "Uncle Joel's." At the other old bakery in the lane opposite, which went through to Essex Street, is always associated with "Piggy Neal" and his brothers, for there seems always to have been a savage scene of pig slaughtering going on in the yard of that bakery.

Do you remember the "Piggy Neals?" They lived on Broad Street near the Grammar School. Ah! how the boys delighted of a cold winter morning to stand in the sun about the door of their shed, where they performed all the mysteries of cutting and cleaning the old porkers whose screams had so recently awakened the echoes of the old bakehouse yard! How these masters of their art hoisted them up by their hind legs, and soused them into a huge tub and how deliciously their bristles came off, leaving their skin so shiny; And then how artistically they placed a stick in their mouths, giving a laughing expression to the face, which seemed to say "what an immense joke this is! what will these wonderful fellows be doing next?" And all the while "Piggy Neal" and brother, who were great Whigs, were talking politics to the boys and laying down the law with Johnsonian ponderosity. But to see these artists in another light, let some urchin call from the out-

side of the circle, "Piggy Neal, Piggy Neal, made a pig squeal, *squeal, squeal!*" with rising inflexion. It was then *sauve qui peut*, the boys ran for their lives, over the fence into the burying ground opposite, and even into "broad field" beyond with Piggy at their heels.

Perhaps to vary the scene "Uncle" Jonas Stevens and his satellite Jimmy Thornton, yclept "Jimmy Drunk" would come along with a poor old skeleton of a horse, and a load of tan, Jonas on the sidewalk and Jimmy with the horse — "James drives and I superintendent the business," shouts some urchin, when at once both give chase, and on an occasion the load of tan was upset in front of the school, much to Master Carlton's indignation.

Jimmy's sister too must not be forgotten; "Marm Gaily" so called. They lived together up the hill behind the burying ground and had a legion of cats. The boys had received from their predecessor the tradition that these cats were used in making sausages, so that, as the poor old woman passed along, the boys would sing "Gaily the troubadour touched the guitar" or shout "Well, Marm Gaily, how goes the sausage business?" On one occasion she chased us into school and stood facing Master Carlton, who rose and with dignified manner and stern voice, extended his arm and said "Woman, depart, this is not the time and place for you to make your complaint." Dear old Master Carlton! How I cherish his memory! When I first entered the Grammar School in 1834 (9 years old) he had but recently come from the country and brought with him some odd ways and expressions. On one boy, who was lazily leaning his head on his hand resting on his desk, he would fiercely gaze for some seconds and then rise, extending his arm and forefinger toward him, call him by name with a perfect explosion waving his arm up and down, and shout "What are you nursing your head for up in yonder corner? Get up and attend to your business or I'll heave the grammar and dictionary at you!" His boys respected him and he took the strongest interest in them. No three months vacation then. Six hours a day in school for forty-eight weeks of the year. Master Carlton had no assistant and his boys rarely failed to enter college with honor. At fifteen years old they had passed more hours in school than

a boy of eighteen at the present day. And what a noble set of boys! The three Howes, Rogers, (four from the Nath¹ and three from the Richard), Peabodys, Barstows, (Ben & John), Wheatlands, Stones, Lees, Wests, W. C. Endicott, Phillips' and others, a joyous crowd, many of whom have alas long ago assembled with the old Master in a happier world, but others are, after the rough and tumble of forty-five or fifty years, my best and staunchest friends.

The high school was on the lower floor, and the Latin Grammar School on the story above; and many a snow ball fight with varied result used to occur between the schools. The old building still stands, I believe, on its old site, but the big school house in front of it occupies the ground where our battles were fought. The grave yard near by was always interesting, as the funeral train, marching sadly without carriages, to the solemn tolling of the bell entered its gates, and we boys stood silently watching the impressive ceremony of the burial of the dead.

But I have wandered too far away from Chestnut Street and must return to it. Fogg's (grocery) store, still standing on the corner of Flint and Essex Streets, was a great place of resort for the boys of our neighborhood. Our good "Neighbor Fogg" was an oracle, and his son Frank kept oranges and small "notions" which tempted the boys who sat on his huge cracker chest, listening to the gossip of the neighbors and ran up ticks for oranges and cakes to their own decided inconvenience. The Bancrofts then lived opposite on Essex Street in a pretty old-fashioned gambrel-roof house, once occupied by Judge Prescott, father of the historian, with a noble old elm in front, which I saw quite recently cut down while apparently in full vigor, by some vandal to display his new shingle palace. On the opposite corner of Flint and Essex Street, the old Stearns house, with "Uncle Billy" shuffling along, carrying his marketing in a silk handkerchief, is a familiar picture in my memory. The figure of John Andrews and John King, with huge feet turned out at right angles and round bent backs, only a few weeks since, standing looking over the fence at the house standing where the King house used to be, opposite my father's old house, carried me back to

my childhood, for they walk and look as they used to fifty years ago. An old, unpainted house stood on Essex Street at the end of the bakehouse yard, occupied by old blind Mr. Mullet, who walked all over Salem alone with the aid of his stick, and next to him lived a boy named Josiah Burrell, always known as "Cider Barrell," in a house still standing on Essex Street on the other side of the bakehouse yard. Mr. Francis Peabody lived in the house now owned by John H. Silsbee; his sons were among my most intimate friends, but I must not again get away from Chestnut Street.

It is hard to imagine a more hospitable and charming central gathering place of a large family circle than the house of my grandfather and grandmother Sanders (next my father's and afterwards occupied by my mother). At all times the door wide open to receive the children, grand children and great-grandchildren. On Wednesday evenings sat down to tea my father, mother, uncles, aunts and grandchildren old and young, some at side tables. My grandmother was a woman of extraordinary powers and varied culture. Her ingenious and original ideas have been well proved to have been in advance of her times. Cooling drinks and fresh air in cases of fever, when it was the invariable custom to keep the poor sufferer under blankets in closed rooms, and not a drop of cold water allowed to cool the parched throat and burning lips. Open air and plenty of it, at all times, night and day, and in all weather was to her the source of health. Many a time, if I rose early enough, have I seen her, even to the last years of her life (and she lived to be nearly 90) in mid-winter, walking on the plank walks in her garden before breakfast. I have heard her relate the story of her early life, how her father, Thomas Elkins, died in early manhood, leaving her mother (sister of Capt. White who was murdered, afterwards Mrs. Greenwood) with two little girls, herself and sister (Mrs. Johonnot) to support. She had then, as always, a craving for reading; but the Bible, Shakespeare, and Pope were the only books on the shelves, and these she devoured, going to the house-top to get the last rays of daylight, their lamps being then too expensive a luxury. These books she read by heart one might say. Let one take up the Testa-

ment, the Iliad or Odyssey or any play of Shakespeare, begin to read and this remarkable woman would take up the thread reciting from memory.

The stories told her grandchildren were generally taken from the Iliad or Odyssey. She, from early youth espoused the cause of the Indian, corresponding with John Ross, the Cherokee Chief. Her powers of conversation were very remarkable and as she presided at her table, at which sat my father and his brother Nathaniel with my uncle Dudley L. Pickman and uncle Charles Sanders, you may readily form some idea of the character of the conversation with which the younger members of that large family circle were entertained and instructed. There was no house in Chestnut Street on the opposite side from the corner to the West house. The garden behind Parson Emerson's house on Essex Street opening on Chestnut Street is associated with the Sunday procession of himself and family marching therefrom through a gate into Chestnut Street on their way to Church. The West house was occupied by the family of Mr. Fred Howes. His sons, especially George, one of the purest and loveliest characters I ever knew, being play-mates and friends. This house was afterwards occupied by the Wests. I remember well, though I could not have been more than five years old, when your father came to Salem and occupied the first house in the Dodge block, next to that of David Pingree. John was a little fellow, just able to run and appeared with a blue pastboard soldiers cap, receiving from the big boys the title of "general" which clung to him for many years.

At that time, the spot where your father's house now stands was a wet field, and I remember seeing the black horses (named Damon & Pythias) belonging to Colcord, who kept the stable on Hamilton Street pastured there. The spot where the double wooden house stands, built I think by Mr. Ray and Rev. Mr. Thompson, was then also a field as well as that on the opposite corner, next to the Devereux house, where Mr. Sam Safford lived, now occupied by Mr. Henry Gardner.

I remember so well your Grandmother Rose and your great Aunt Rachel Rose, walking down the street, with huge "Calashes" from the house they lived in on Essex

Street above the Andrews House to visit your great-aunt Tucker. But why have I gone so far without mentioning that famous old Tory lady whose school I attended, Miss Hitty Higginson, who lived in a small gambrel-roof house on Essex Street where the Bertram house now stands. I can see her now sitting in her high straight back green chair, with high crowned pleated cap, black bowed spectacles raised on her forehead and the rows of children on the hard benches without back sitting stiff and motionless during those long hours of school. I never now hear the August locust sing without remembering that school and how I envied the locust which piped in her garden.

Mr. George Peabody then lived in the Mack house on Chestnut Street; he was Colonel of the Regiment. On a "training day" I saw him issue from his door in regimentals with helmet and nodding plume, like Hector of old, his lively young wife taking leave of him, as he mounted his silver-tailed charger to command the forces which took part in a sham fight on the Common, while I was carried to the Forrester Mansion, now his, to witness it. Ah! the delight of those sham fights, with the blazing of artillery, the rattling of the small guns, the music of the drum and fife and on great occasions the Boston Brigade, a Boston Brass Band with Kendall and his bugle; and then the treat to us youngsters of being admitted to the "Marquee" through influence with the officers. How freshly it all comes back. The Salem Light Infantry, with helmet and flashing crest, was to me the embodiment of all that was martial and heroic, and on its field days, the temptation to "play truant" was sometimes too great to be resisted.

As I revert to these pictures of life in Salem half a century and more ago the figures of interesting or peculiar people, incidents and events come crowding upon me and I know not where to stop or in what order to relate them. The stage coaches with post-shay behind, calling at the door after an early breakfast to take my father to Boston, or with others, members of the bar to Ipswich or Newburyport to attend the Circuit Court, were always a subject of interest. But one dreary morning (In March, I believe), the earliest event which I distinctly remember, when I was but five years old (how vividly it all comes back to me!)

my father said good-bye to my Mother and his children, left the house to take passage in the stage but soon hurried back, burst open the door and stood pale and speechless, he then held up his hands exclaiming "Mary, your Uncle White was murdered in his bed last night, murdered in cold blood!" Ah! what excitement and horror attended that dreadful mystery. Who was the murderer and what could have been his object? A venerable citizen, respected and beloved, without a known enemy was found murdered and not an article taken from the house. Who that was then living can forget the Committee of Vigilance, the proscribed list of prominent men which was reported and believed to exist? The strange denouement of the dreadful tragedy, in the father of Knapp unconsciously betraying his own son? The great time and the argument of Daniel Webster who was retained by the Commonwealth to assist the Attorney General?

The White Murder is even today an exciting topic with all old Salemites. Do I say this is the first thing I remember? I am wrong; for the figure of old Dr. Holyoke, the Centenarian, comes vividly before me, as he stood beside Dr. Brazer listening to his sermon, in the high pulpit of the Old North Church on North Street where, by the way, your Mother sang by the side of my father, and Master Oliver was organist. The famous waiter in those days was the negro York Morris. How often have I heard my mother relate an incident which happened at my father's table while he was entertaining the judges of the Supreme Court with certain distinguished members of the bar at dinner one cold day, when the thermometer in the dining room, by no coaxing could be induced to rise above 45! Morris was very grand in blue coat and brass buttons, and while dashing around the table with one of his buttons he caught the wig of Chief Justice Parsons, switched it from his head and bore it off all unconscious of the fact that it dangled from his coat. Meanwhile my parents, with their guests, sat aghast looking at the bald head of the Chief, and then at his wig flying around the table on Morris' coat, when he exclaimed, "Hello, you black rascal, bring me back my wig!" Another exciting event, which must have happened in my earliest childhood, was the

famous whipping of Parson Cheever by Ham, foreman of Deacon Stone's Distillery, for publishing that scandalous libel on the good man "Deacon Giles Distillery." This served for town talk and pulpit discourses for many a day.

At about this same period of my life, I was taken from my trundle bed to see "falling stars," that famous meteoric display which nearly frightened me out of my senses. My good old grandfather Sanders drove about in an old brown square top chaise, with a venerable gray horse named Solomon. My first essay at driving alone was to go to the poor house farm on the neck, for a jar of cream which was placed in a tin pail in the bottom of the old chaise. In turning in at the gate, I made a mistake in my observations and hitting the post with the wheel upset the cream, the result being that my mother's tea party was short of cream, and the old chaise all afloat with it.

Speaking of "stages," one of my greatest sources of happiness was a drive on the top of Pinkham's with my father every year to Haverhill to visit his mother. With what enthusiasm he used to call my attention to the beautiful valley of the Merrimac, as we came in sight of it over Bradford hills and to the old home of his youth and his ancestors! and with what tender warm affection his aged Mother greeted him! He always said that Haverhill was the most beautifully situated town in New England. Then it was a village and not spoiled by shoe factories. Papanti came to Salem after I had taken a course of lessons in the Terpsichorean art of Mr. Guyin in Concert Hall in Lafayette Street. Papanti taught three generations, I believe, not only to dance but to move and conduct themselves with grace and propriety. How many scenes come up before me at the thought of dear old Hamilton Hall where he taught, extending all the way from that time, with the dear young faces of girls and boys so fresh and full of glee, through College days, with assemblies and other festivities, to the last time I sat there, eight years ago, at that interesting and beautiful banquet, the Endicott festival, when I saw, gray with years, so many of those with whom I had danced when a boy in that same hall. One of the fairest of the boys of that day, the eloquent orator of the occasion, commemorated in his admirable address the landing of his

illustrious ancestor two hundred and fifty years before. But to return. The sports and pastimes of my boyhood were extremely simple. On Wednesday and Saturday half holidays, we boys were very fond of going into the town pastures with baskets of simple food. We cut the small cedar trees, made fires, cooked our potatoes and eggs in the ashes, went into the swamps and cut hockeys, ate our feast and returned tired as we were happy. The same pastures were our coasting ground in winter. The wharves, with their vessels from India, the Pacific, from Borneo, Java, Manilla and from Africa, furnished us with great entertainment. The harbor and its islands, Naugus Head and the now famous Beverly shore, are associated with the jolly fishing and chowder parties when we cooked the fish which we caught, be it remembered good cod and haddock, inside of Baker's Island.

We went in swimming in the North River, off the "Sand Bank" (where the road now carries one from Dean Street to Harmony Grove) a public school just above it, and old Capt. Cooke's garden at its side. At full tide it was a clean body of water and the swim across to "Paradise," the fields beyond the swirling flood, was a feat for a strong boy. He was considered an accomplished swimmer who did it. We were more of us riders and made excursions to the Burley Farm, the Peabody farm, the Brookhouse farm, to Middleton, to the beaches, where a few old farmers and fishermen lived, but not a single sea-side residence existed, who could believe it now? We feared to enter Marblehead though it was so near, for it was said that Marbleheaders always stoned a stranger. At Nahant there were some ten or twelve gentlemen's cottages, the only seashore summer houses on the coast. The Beverly shore we never visited, the reason I presume, being that there was a toll of ten cents to pay; though I remember at a later day but long before anyone built there, going with those older than myself on picnics to the Essex woods and to the Prince place, which the owner at that time offered to sell to my father, who greatly admired it, for \$3,000. But I am extending this letter to an unconscionable length and must draw it to a close, not however without mentioning a few of the originals who ought to be immortalized.

Daniel Dutch, the funny little old Constable in short breeches, knee and shoe buckles and queue, Town crier and Constable Mansfield with one arm, ringing his bell at the corners of the streets to announce lost or found, auction sales, town meeting, &c. or rapping the boys heads at Lyceum lectures to make them keep quiet and that strange being named Oliver, thin as a rail, who lived in Broad Street and came dancing around the corner by Ben Barstow's in thin slippers and blue swallow-tailed coat with his arms behind his back, always the same and never seeming to grow older nor stouter; he may be living there yet, and "Ghost Andrews" as we called him, always walking in that same painful gait as if he did it with difficulty, but incessantly keeping it up, all over Salem in every street and at all hours, and the poet Billy Cooke, do you remember his verses?

I like to think of these grand old men who walked the street in their knee breeches and silk stockings, powdered hair and queue; most notably old Captain West. What a stately figure and courtly manner! I remember the amusement of the young ladies when I was a small boy, at a remark made by his grandson William West, who was a great beau, and was walking with them behind the old gentleman. The young man seemed for a while rapt in admiration but at last broke out in a drawling tone peculiar to him "Ladies, I must call your attention to Grandfather's legs," they were certainly a very fine pair. How much more there is to relate, if I allow myself to soar as one after another the memories of my boyhood come to my mind. The Negro colony on the turnpike (remnants of the old slaves, they were said to be) the little shops on Essex Street, Miss Wallace and Miss Ropes on the corner of Munroe Street, and the old woman who sold blackjacks and gibraltars whose name I forget. But I must close this long rambling letter, though it is hard to stop the stream which you have tempted me to set going. You may cut and slash at it ad libitum.

Sincerely yours,
Leverett Saltonstall.

ST. PETER'S CHURCH IN SALEM BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

BY HARRIET SILVESTER TAPLEY

(Continued from Volume LXXX, Page 367.)

APPENDIX

THE REV. GEORGE PIGOT was educated in his father's grammar school, in which he was for some time an usher. He came to America, settling first at Newport, R. I., where he taught school. He married, June 18, 1700, Sarah, daughter of Francis and Damaris (Arnold) Carr of Newport, granddaughter of Governor Caleb Carr. The family owned large tracts of land in various parts of Rhode Island and Massachusetts and gave lots for many churches. Mr. Pigot was ordained about 1722, settled at Stratford, Conn., and in 1727 came to Marblehead as Rector of St. Michael's. He was a man of considerable literary ability, and distinguished himself honorably in a controversy with the Rev. John Barnard of the Marblehead Congregational Church, upon the celebration of Christmas, a controversy which Mr. Barnard had provoked by an attack upon the ancient practice of the church.

During the epidemic of throat distemper in 1736, his family was sadly afflicted, and he wrote in 1738 to the Venerable Society that he went to Providence to supply, which was a great distance from Marblehead, having procured Rev. Mr. Watts to take his church services. After eight days absence, he wrote, 'I received the melancholy news that the pestilential distemper (which had carried off more than four hundred persons in Marblehead within a year) was broken out again in my family, and upon my return found three of my children dead, and three very dangerously ill; and soon after I lost a fourth. This happened in one and twenty days and within that melancholy space I slipped upon a ridge of ice, in my return from visiting a sick woman, and broke and splintered the bone of the upper part of my left arm; but I began to recover and to get strength as the warm weather came on, till I very unhappily slipped on the plain grass, and broke the same arm; these troubles have been very heavy and expensive, and therefore I hope the Society will honor a bill I have drawn on their Treasurer for £20.'

His request was granted and he went to England and was instituted in the Church at Chaldon, Surrey, and probably did not return to this country. It is doubtful if Mrs. Pigot accompanied him, but if she did it is said that she returned to Marblehead, because in 1749, she sold her house and land and in 1751, died and was buried in St. Michael's churchyard.—(Updike, *Hist. of the Narragansett Church.*)

WILLIAM FAIRFAX, after much adventure, had elected to take up his permanent abode in America. William, who lost his English wife, while serving as Collector of King's Customs in Salem, Massachusetts, had married again there, giving his three small children a mother of good old Puritan stock, who in turn added three more to his family. In 1734, he left Salem, and with a comfortable fortune already in pocket, accepted from his cousin, Lord Fairfax of Greenway Court, the agency of his Virginian property.

Ultimately, he built a handsome house on the south bank of the Potomac near Alexandria, calling it Belvoir. This dwelling was burnt soon after the Revolution. Belvoir was a stately mansion in its day, and when fitted up with English furniture and plate and pictures, the stables filled with well bred horses and English equipages and harness, soon became the center of neighboring hospitality. Many of the Colonists saw there, for the first time, the combined comfort and elegance of an English home. The liveried lackeys, wax-lights, fine wines, and carpets made a ripple of talk among the gossips. To view them, came squires in periwigs and with dames in cardinals, on horseback, the ladies, often as not, mounted on pillions behind their lords. Darkeys on mules, carrying saddle-bags and handboxes, brought up the rear of the cortege — a mode of progress that had not become obsolete in Virginia neighborhoods when the war between the States began.

Of high birth, possessed of wealth and the respect of those around him; holding a distinguished public position — being Collector of the royal customs, and President of the King's Council — the owner of Belvoir was an important factor in the social influences of the Colony. Of him, says Archdeacon Burnaby, who in 1700 was a guest of Washington at Mount Vernon: 'Mr. William Fairfax was a gentleman of very fine accomplishments, and general good character. He was a kind husband and indulgent parent, a faithful friend, a sincere Christian; and was eminently distinguished for his private and public virtues.'

Apart from his personal claim to a place in my little sketch, the name of William Fairfax is intimately associated with George Washington's to whom, as a shy lad, induced by his widowed mother to make the first timid plunge into Society at Belvoir, Col. Fairfax was friend and counsellor. Americans owe something to the man from whose lips the Father of our Country learned the principles bequeathed by the Old

Lord of Denton to his line. (Mrs. Burton Harrison, 1888, 'Fairfaxes of America.')

JOHN TOUZEL became a principal merchant in Salem, coming from the Island of Jersey soon after Philip English. Among the Touzel papers in the Essex Institute are many letters from Jersey relatives, especially after the death of John. He married, in 1720, Susannah, daughter of Philip English, and his brother wrote to him in 1722: 'You tell me of your marriage of which we are pleased. I hear that Mr. L'Anglois is from the Trinity and from honest people, his father came from France.' In a testimonial letter written in 1710, it is revealed that before coming to New England he had been a school-teacher: 'Mr. Jean Tousell has well and faithfully exercised the charge of Master of the school in said parish, for which we are given this present certificate to serve him at all times where Providence may conduct him, made the 24th day of January, 1710-11.' Touzel owned the large house built by Benjamin Marston, which stood at the corner of Cambridge and Essex Streets, taken down in the nineteenth century.

The children of John and Susannah (English) Touzel were: John, who was a silversmith in Salem; Mary, who married Capt. William Hathorne; and Susannah, who married John Hathorne. These children gave letter of attorney to John Ahier of Jersey to take charge of the estate which belonged to them in Jersey. Touzel was a master mariner, sailing on the sloop Endeavour, owned by Samuel Browne, Esq., for the West Indies. In 1730 he was at Bilbao. He brought many relatives and friends to this country on various voyages. Joseph Aubin, uncle of John, Jr., wrote in 1754, 'it is time for you to marry and look for a good fortune.' The Carterets, Demaresq, LeGallais, Poindexters were mentioned as friends.

Inventory of his estate, dated Jan. 24, 1737, was taken by John Gerrish, Timothy Pickering and Jonathan Webb, amounted to £2268.17.9., and showed good furnishings. In the parlor were: clock £50; desk £8; oval table and carpet, 2 small oval tables, looking glass, £14; doz. old cane chairs; 2 black cane back chairs and child's chair; 17 pictures,., quadrant, scale and nocturnal, fire shovels and tongs. Parlor chamber: bedstead, case with drawers 1½ doz. small cane chairs, and one great, 15 black cane back chairs, chamber table and glass, pictures, earthenware and glass on mantle

shelf. Hall: bed, bedding, trundle bed, doz. leather chairs, 6 turkey work 6 two back chairs, large black walnut table, square oak table, round and pine table, 4 old maps, fire-arms, glass on shelf, looking glass. Hall chamber: bed furnishings, low chest of drawers, sealskin and leather trunks, 1 doz. chairs, oak and pine chairs, ware on shelf, linen. Shop: tools of all description. Shop chamber: old sea quilt, wearing apparel, walking cane, chairs, pictures, Province Law book and others, linen and table. Counting house: 1 small desk and other things. Kitchen: pewter, brass candlesticks, fire place utensils, pots and kettles, chafing dish, copper kettles. Porch chamber: 6 turkey work chairs. Garret and cellar: beds etc. jars. Hall chamber: 4 bonds, £190.21½, moider of gold, £150.10; 20 guineas, £100. ½ pistole, 3 doub'lunes, £48, 70 oz. silver, £87.10, 121 oz. plate, £151.1.5, £73 in province bills; house and land, £750. Farm at Windham.

HON. GEORGE PLAXTON was Treasurer of Barbados from 1725-1732, and Judge of Admiralty. He was associated in business there with Edward Lascelles and George Maxwell. He left Barbados for England in April, 1734, and appears in Salem the following May, coming over for his health, it is said. He often dined with Judge Benjamin Lynde, and, according to the latter's diary, was 'an ingenious gentleman and bachelor.' Judge Plaxton died April 1, 1735, and was the first to be buried in the churchyard, according to James Jeffry's Interleaved almanac. (E. I. Hist. Col., vol. 43.) The administrators of his estate were Mitchell Sewall, John Henderson, Esq. and Samuel Barton, merchants, with Joseph Orne, merchant, and John Cabot, Jr., physician, sureties, in £5000. Estate appraised by Thomas Lee, Joshua Hicks and Joseph Bowditch. Inventory amounted to £687.19.11, taken March 30, 1736. (Essex Docket, 22,108.) It included a large and interesting collection and, for a bachelor, comprised about everything in the line of household equipment, as follows: 12 silver spoons, £38.9.3; 1 silver ladle, £10.6.3; 1 pr. silver spurs, £4.10; 1 pr. silver buckles, 10s; 1 pr. gold buttons, £4.10; 1 gold seal, £1.10; 12 cane chairs, 2 elbow chairs, 1 couch, £22; 1 walnut table, 3s, 1 maple table, £1.5; 2 pr. andirons, £5.2; 62lbs. pewter, £15.6; 1 tinned iron ladle and coffee pot, 11s; a vinegar cruse and 1 pr. beakers, 2s.6d; wine glasses, 8s.; delft punch bowl, 15s.; 2 breakfast basons, 5s.; 18 delft plates, 18s.; 1 pr. pint

decanter, 7s.; 17 cambric stocks, 10 shirts, 9 ruffledshirts, 14 cambric weepers, 11 cambric neckcloths, 10 handkerchiefs, 8 Holland jackets, 3 fustian jackets, 5 pr. linen drawers, 6 pr. fustian breeches, 10 linen caps, 18 handkerchiefs, 1 pr. men's black silk gloves, 10 pr. thread hose, 11 stomachers, 1 silk purse, pr. pillowbears, 2 doz. Damask napkins, 1 small Damask tablecloth, 1 large ditto, linen tablecloth, 3 fringed diaper tablecloths, 1 pr. Ticken Spatter Dashes, a suit of cotton checked curtains and head cloth, pr. gilt sconces, cross cut saw, $\frac{1}{2}$ doz flag bottom walnut chairs, 2 small tablecloths, 1 damask tablecloth, 6 large and fine tablecloths, 1 pr. linen stockings, an old Holland Gown, a crimson cloth coat, 32 li. bacon, 6 tongues, 2 large wicker bottles, 1 bedstead, pans, skimmer, dripping pan, egg slice, a grater, chafing dish, gridiron, $7\frac{1}{8}$ yds. silk plad, 2 plad jackets, 1 plad banyan, 1 suit dark cloth, blue camlet coat and breeches, suit of olive grograne cloth, 2 pr. ozna spatter dashes, 2 sword belts, beaver hat, oak chest, seal skin trunk, 2 pr. shoes, pr. men's boots, a wig, pr. pistols, cases, holsters, pr. worsted hose, 2 flannel robins, $\frac{1}{2}$ doz. wine glasses, 1 pr. pt. decanters, 1 quart decanter, 10 delft basons, 6 yds. calamimco, 20 lb. raisons, 10 stone pots, a close stool, jugs, mugs, 10 doz. bottles, 192 li. hung beef, fire shovels and tongs, 1 pr. bellows, 1 spitt, 2 trivetts, mortar and pestle, 2 pr. brass candlesticks, 2 doz. ivory haft knives and forks, 209 li. beef, bottles, 1 strong chest, 2 legs bacon, 1 chest drawers, 44 lb. pork, 2 chamber tables, looking glass, dressing glass, bureau, oval table, black horse, saddle and bridle, a bob wig, a tye ditto, for a billiard table — 12 sticks, 2 cues, 2 ivory balls, Holland sheets, table cloths, pillow bears, shirts etc.

Books: Echard's Hist. of England, Bailies Hist. Dic. French, Burnett's Hist. Reformation, Morey's French Dic., Boilian's Works French, Beyer's French Dic., Harris' Lex Technicum, Littleton's Latin Dic., a book of Rates, Burnett's Hist. of the Times, Addison's Works, Natural Hist., Locke of Human Understanding, Grotius of War and Peace, Horace in usum, Moliere's Works, Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion, Present State of Great Britain, Prideaux Connex, 1 Bible, Whole Duty of Man, Common Prayer, Sherlock on Death, Paradise Lost, Pope's Homer, Pope's Miscellaneous, Reign of Louis 13 & 14, French, a French Hist. of Roman Revolution, Observations d'le Acad. Franc., Burnett's Hist. of Reformation, abridged, Tale of a Tubb, French Epigrams, Blencourt on Glass, Willis' Notitia parliamentaria, Socrates Triumphant, Conte de Ton, French, Hist. suedè, Temple of

Holland, Rogescaide's French Grammar, Duty of Man, French, Peerage of England, Works of Racine, Butler's Works, Bentley's Horace Fontennells, French, Le Meax Universelle French Hist., French New Testament with Psalms, Prior's Works, Abelard & Eloise French, Leamour Reciprogy, Danls Hist. of France, French.

JOHN OULTON was of Marblehead in 1712, a communicant at King's Chapel as early as 1705, and one of the committee to build St. Michael's Church in 1714, and later warden. He was a warden and vestryman at King's Chapel, 1712-1723. He was again in Marblehead from 1723 to 1735. He was one of the proponents of the first bank in Boston, in 1714, with Samuel Lynde, E. Lyde, John Colman, Elisha Cook, Jr., Timothy Thornton, Oliver Noyes, William Pain and Nathaniel Oliver. Paul Dudley opposed the bank. He was one of the many signers of 'merchants, traders and sailors' of Boston to a petition to the General Court, June 27, 1705, concerning French prisoners. He was associated with Thomas Palmer and Cornelius Waldo, eminent merchants of Boston, who carried on an extensive trade on land and sea, owning land in various counties in Massachusetts. He is recorded as a man of esteem and quality, and by marriage was connected with the Legg and Brown families, a generous share of whose estates came into his hands. During the hard times of the seventeen thirties, his firm lost heavily. Deborah Oulton died previous to 1736, and he previous to 1757. (N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg., vol. 19, p. 166 and vol. 53, p. 391.)

GEDNEY CLARKE has been said to have been at one time Governor of Barbados. The following letter from E. M. Shilstone, M. B. E., F. S. A., Honorary Secretary of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society of St Ann's Garrison, to the Editor of the Essex Institute Historical Collections, throws additional light on this subject:

We know of no existing portrait of Gedney Clarke; and there is no record that Gedney Clarke was ever Governor of Barbados. There were at least two persons of that name — Gedney Clarke whose will is recorded here in 1764, and his son Gedney, Collector of Customs at Barbados, who died in 1777. Enclosed is a copy of extracts from the will of the first Gedney Clarke above mentioned. He owned property in Salem, in Barbados, Essequibo, and in various other parts of the world. The will follows:

Will of Gedney Clarke Esqre

To my wife Mary Clarke £500 annuity secured by an indenture made between the testator, his wife, and son Peter. Slaves, furniture etc., dwellinghouse with garden situate at Belle plantation.

To sister Hannah Cabot, to each of my brother John Clarke's children (except John Clarke and Mary who has lately married William Paris (?)) To niece Hannah Fairfax, to William and Elizabeth Roberts, to Thomazin Murray, to each of my sons Peter and Francis £10000.

To each of my daughters, Deborah, Mary and Frances £8100.

To son Gedney Clarke and his heirs male all residue of real and personal estate both in Barbados and Grenada. Also my estate called Pyra (?) in River Isequebo and also the plantation in Demerary in Colony of Isequebo called Vriendschap, first taken up in the name of my son Francis, but transferred to me by the Court of Policy on 6 July 1760. Also 500 acres of land which I have lately agreed with Samuel Carter for, adjoining to the said plantation Vriendschap. Also 3000 acres on Goose Creek, Potomack River, Virginia, and the house, stores, buildings etc. Also a wharf and warehouses, with hereditaments in Salem, New England, which my brother John Clarke sold to me many years ago. Also house and land in Halifax now in possession of Mr. Shipton and also all the rest of land, buildings, etc. In case of failure of the entail, the same to my son Peter Clarke in tail male, failing him to my son Francis Clarke in tail male, then to my three daughters.

Appoint my wife Mary during widowhood and sons Gedney, Peter, and Francis, to be executrix and executors. Dated 27 March 1764. sgd Gedney Clarke. Witnesses: C. Hall, R. Clement jnr. Wm. Clarke. Proved and recorded 4 September 1764.

Gedney Clarke, son of the above, was Collector of Customs in Barbados, an appointment under the Crown when the Excise on sugar and other products was payable to the King. He lived at the Belle plantation and entertained George Washington there when he visited Barbados. Some idea of the style in which he lived may be gathered from the references to him in "The Autobiographical Manuscript of William Senhouse" published in the Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society, 1933 Vol. 2. Senhouse was the Surveyor General of Customs. There is a file of the Journal in our Library, from which we make the following extracts:

"My time at the Belle was almost totally engaged in receiving the compliments and congratulations of the principal inhabitants of the Islands, Mr. Clarke taking particular care to receive every one that came with the most cordial hospitality, and had on that account a different set of dining company every day. Such signal and obliging attention I had never been accustomed to, but in doing this he did no more than follow the bent of his own natural inclinations; for it was his constant practice to entertain every one that came and to keep a sort of open house for all Officers of the Navy, Army and strangers of every respectable denomination that eventually came to the Island. To effect this in the elegant style in which he constantly lived and entertained them a very considerable expense was necessarily and unavoidably incurred, and happy would it have been for this worthy man (whose little faults hurt only himself, but whose many virtues benefited all within his reach) had a prudent economy been adopted in the room of a liberal and generous profusion, as the event will sufficiently show. Mrs. Clarke was in every respect a most worthy woman. They had two sons who together with Miss Roberts and Miss Steele, two antiquated maidens, formed a family group of the most amiable description."

A new Inspector General was sent to the Island and suspended Mr. Clarke, Collector at Bridgetown, in 1774. The new official was very unpopular with the people and finally Mr. Clarke was restored to office by order of the Commissioners, on which occasion illuminations and every possible demonstration of joy were exhibited by the inhabitants.

The second Gedney Clarke left no will. His estate was much involved. The writer thinks he is correct in saying that Gedney Clarke, Jr., married a Lascelles. The family is that of the present Earl of Harewood. The Belle plantation became the property of the Lascelles family.

INSCRIPTIONS ON THE STONES IN FRONT OF ST. PETER'S CHURCH.

These stones were originally erected over graves in the Churchyard. When the Chapel was built in 1871, the stones in the Churchyard were taken up and placed on both sides in front of the Church. The grounds extended into the present street as far as the man-hole on Brown street. On a plan of pews, without date, is recorded the fact that there were 'fifty-five tombs under the church.' The stone from John Touzel's grave was placed on the chapel wall. The inscription follows. The inscriptions on the other stones now standing there are as follows:

On right side of front door.

Here lyes Buried ye Body of Jonathan Pue Esq^r late Surveyor & Searcher of his Majesties Customs for ye Port of Salem in New England Who died March 25th 1760 in ye 67th Year of His Age.

Here lies in a Brick Grave the remains of Mrs. Sarah Abbot. Who died April 14th 1805: Aged 56 years. Also Genl Stephen Abbot. Who died Aug. 9th 1813 Aged 64 years.

Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Abigail Williams, widow of Mr. William Williams, Who died Sept. 15, In the Year 1812; In the 67 year of her age.

Here lies buried The Body of Capt. William Williams. Who departed this Life 14th day of April 1781.

In Memory of Mrs. Lucy Blyth, wife of Mr. Samuel Blyth, Who Died Augt. 20th, 1787, In the 37 Year of her Age.

In Memory of Miss Elizabeth Bowditch. Was born May 16th 1771, and died Dec 9, 1791.

In Memory of Mrs. Bethiah Ingersoll, wife of Nathaniel Ingersoll who died Of a Consumption July 30, 1773, Aet 58.

Here Lyes Buried the Body of Capt. Nathaniel Ingersoll Who Departed this Life April the 28th 1762, Aged 49 Years.

To the Memory of Mrs. Mary Ingersoll Wife of Capt. Jonathan Ingersoll Who was born Decr 2d 1755, Died Janry 24th 1791.

In Memory of Mr. Samuel Mylod Who died Sept. 27, 1814, ae 63 yrs.

In Memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Mylod, Wife of Mr. Samuel Mylod, who died March 7, 1813, Aet 64.

In Memory of Peter, Son of John and Mary Bertram. Who was accidently drowned May 25, 1813: aged 3 years 6 months.

On left side of front door.

Here lies Buried The Body of Mrs. Hannah Britton, Consort of Capt. David Britton; Who departed this Life Sept. 25th 1782, Aged 57 years.

Here lyes ye Body of John Sanders, son of Mr. Philip & Mrs. Mary Sanders, Who Died Janry 21st A.D. 1750, Aged 16 Years 2 Months & 12 Days.

Here Lyes Buried The Body of James Jeffrey Who Died April 23d 1753.

In Memory Of Miss Sarah Saunders Who departed this life July 16th 1795. In the 17th Year of her Age. Only Daughter of Capt. Daniel Saunders.

In Memory Of Mary Saunders Widow of Phillip Saunders Ob Jan. 14, 1795. Aet 85.

Here lies Buried The Body of Margaret Hendy Wife of John Hendy Who departed this Life 21st July 1783, Aged 59 years.

In Memory of Susanna Saunders Who died Sept. 1, 1818. In the 69 year of her Age.

In Memory of Mr. John Hendy Born in Bridgetown in England, March 20, 1726. Died in this Town April 1, 1809.

Here lies interr'd The Body of Capt. Israel Obear Who Died 8th Augst 1773, In the 39th Year of his Age.

In Memory Of Mr. Joseph Young Organist of St. Peter's Church. Ob. Apr. 21, 1803. Aet 47.

Betsey Varney Obt. Jan. 28 Anno Dom 1836, Aet 47.

Stephen Varney Died November 24th 1840. Aet 49.

James Ford July 1, 1781.

Here lies deposited in a brick grave the Remains of Mr. John Touzel, Obt. Aug. 14th A. D. 1785 Aet 58. A Sermon preached at the Funeral was from these words: The Righteous have hope in their Death.

The following were parents of the above.

To the Memory of Capt. John Touzel Obt. Sept 14th A. D. 1737 Aet: 52.

To the Memory of Susanna Relict of Capt. John Touzel, Obt. April 21st A D 1739 Aet. 52.

This tablet is now on the wall of the chapel.

In Memory of Mrs. Sarah Jackson Relict of the late Mr. John Jackson of Boston. Obt. June 19, 1810: Ae 58. Also Miss Sally Avery, died Aug. 29, 1836.

In Memory of Doretha Palfray wife of Mr. Richard Palfray, Obt. June 11, 1797. Aet 44.

Mrs. Mary Ingersoll 1791.

Mrs. Hannah Mottey 1768.

In Memory of James Ford Writing Master Who Departed this Life June 27th 1781. In the 60th Year of his Age.

Here lies Buried The Body of Mrs. Susanna Luscomb, wife of Mr. Samuel Luscomb Who departed this Life 3d Day of Sept. 1781. In the 59th Year of her Age.

In Memory of S: W: Fisher Son of I. & A. Fisher Who Died October 31st 1774. Aged 19 months.

In Memory of Mr. Jonathan Obear Who Died Jan. 26th 1789. Aged 26 years.

In Memory of Simon Lamb Ob. May 6, 1795. Aged 19 months. Also Simon Lamb. Ob. July 24, 1800. Aged 4 years Sons of Simon & Eliz. Lamb.

Ruth Hathorne Daughter of Joseph & Elizabeth Hathorne. Died March 10, 1860. Aged 80 years.

Here Lyes Ye body of Mrs. Sarah Britton; wife to Capt. David Britton. Feb. 3, 1771. 70 years.

Others who are known to have been buried there are:

Mary Lister, July 24, 1773.

Samuel Blyth, Mar. 20, 1774.

Capt. Charles King, May 16, 1774 [tomb built in 1770].

Thomas Dowse, Apr. 20, 1775.

Philip English, 1736, ae. 86 y.

Capt. James Barr, 1803. [tomb built in 1770.]

Rev. William McGilchrist, in Mr. Barr's tomb in the Churchyard. Apr. 24, 1780.

Rev. Nathaniel Fisher, in a brick tomb, Dec. 20, 1812. Joseph Story, a parishioner, wrote a sketch of him.

Col. Abbot had a tomb built in 1792.

WARDENS AND VESTRY, 1738-1800.

1738. Wardens
Benjamin Morshead
Capt. John Clarke

Vestry
Jacob Manning
Joseph Hilliard
Philip Sanders
Richard Palmer
Benjamin Gerrish
David Britton

1739. Wardens
Joseph Browne, Esq.
Capt. Benj. Moreshead

Vestry
John Clarke
Benjamin Gerrish
David Britton
Philip Sanders
John Shillaber
Joseph Hillard
Richard Bethell
Ephraim Ingalls
Richard Palmer
Miall Bacon

1740. Wardens
Capt. Benj. Moreshead
Jacob Manning

Vestry
Benjamin Gerrish
Mr. Hilliard
Mr. Dampney
Mr. Palmer
Mr. Bacon
Mr. Shillaber
Mr. Daniels

1741. Wardens
David Britton
Philip Sanders

Vestry
Capt. Benj. Moreshead
Jacob Manning
Joseph Hilliard
Ephraim Ingalls
Daniel Massey
Richard Bethel

Capt. Benj. Gerrish
Richard Palmer

1742. Wardens
Benj. Gerrish, Jr.
David Britton

Vestry
Capt. Andrew Woodbury
Joseph Hilliard
Richard Bethel
Philip Sanders
Ephraim Ingalls
Jacob Manning

1743. Wardens
Capt. Benj. Gerrish
Philip Sanders

Vestry
Capt. Andrew Woodbury
Joseph Hilliard
Ephraim Ingalls
John Dampney
Jacob Manning
Capt. William Hathorne
Richard Palmer

1744. Wardens
The Rt. Hon. Wm. Arthur Onslow, Esq., Speaker of the House of Commons, Great Britain

Capt. Benj. Gerrish, Jr.
Capt. Andrew Woodbury

Vestry
Capt. Heylieger
Capt. Crowninshield
David Britton
Ephraim Ingalls
John Dampney

1745. Wardens
Philip Sanders
John Dampney

Vestry
Clifford Crowninshield
Benjamin Gerrish
David Britton
Ephraim Ingalls
Capt. Wm. Hathorne

1746. Wardens

Philip Sanders
John Dampney

Vestry

Capt. Heylieger
Capt. Britton
Capt. Hathorne
Capt. Gerrish
Capt. Driver

1747. Wardens

Philip Sanders
John Dampney

Vestry

Clifford Crowninshield
(Groundsale)
Benjamin Gerrish
David Britton
Ephraim Ingalls
John Clarke

1748. Wardens

Philip Sanders
John Dampney

Vestry

Clifford Goundsale (Crownin-
shield)
Benjamin Gerrish, Jr.
David Britton
Ephraim Ingalls
John Clarke
Capt. William Hathorne

1749. Wardens

Philip Sanders
Ephraim Ingalls

Vestry

Clifford Crowninshield
Benjamin Gerrish, Jr.
David Britton
John Clarke
Capt. William Hathorne
John Dampney

1750. Wardens

Capt. David Britton
Ephraim Ingalls

Vestry

Capt. Thomas Poynton
Capt. Benj. Gerrish
Philip Sanders
Capt. John Clarke
John Dampney

Capt. Wm. Hathorne
Richard Mayberry

1751. Wardens

Capt. David Britton
Thomas Poynton

Vestry

Ephraim Ingalls
Benj. Gerrish, Jr.,
Philip Sanders
Capt. John Clarke
John Dampney
Capt. Wm. Hathorne

1752. Wardens

Philip Sanders
Ephraim Ingalls

Vestry

David Britton
Clifford Crowninshield
Richard Palmer
Richard Mayberry
John Dampney
John Clarke

1753. Wardens

(same as 1752)

1754. Wardens

(same as 1753)
Peter Smith added to Vestry

1755. Wardens

(same as 1754)

1756. Wardens

Philip Sanders
Ephraim Ingalls

Vestry

Richard Lechmere
Wm. Eppes
David Britton
John Jones
Jonas Adams

1757. Wardens

Philip Sanders
Richard Palmer

Vestry

Richard Lechmere
Wm. Eppes
David Britton

1758. Wardens

Philip Sanders
Richard Palmer

Vestry

Wm. Eppes
Richard Lechmere
David Britton
Nathaniel Ingersoll
Thomas Poynton

1759. Wardens

(same as 1758)

1760. Wardens

Philip Sanders
James Ford

Vestry

Wm. Eppes
Richard Lechmere
David Britton
Nathaniel Ingersoll
Thomas Poynton

1761. Wardens

Philip Sanders
James Ford

Vestry

Wm. Eppes
David Britton
Nathaniel Ingersoll
Thomas Poynton
Wm. Pyncheon

1762. Wardens

Richard Palmer
James Ford

Vestry

Wm. Eppes
David Britton
Wm. Pyncheon

1763. Wardens

Capt. Charles King
Philip Godfrid Kast

Vestry

Wm. Eppes
David Britton
Wm. Pyncheon
Philip Sanders
Richard Palmer
Mascoll Williams

1764. Wardens

(same as 1763)

1765. Wardens

(same as 1764)

1766. Wardens

Capt. Charles King
Philip Godfrid Kast

Vestry

William Burnet Browne
John Fisher
Joseph Dowse
David Britton
Wm. Pyncheon
Philip Sanders

1767. Wardens

William Burnet Browne, Esq.
Stephen Higginson

Vestry

John Fisher, Esq.
Jos. Dowse, Esq.
Wm. Pyncheon, Esq.
David Britton
Philip Sanders

1768. Wardens

Robert Alcock
George Deblois

Vestry

John Fisher, Esq.
Joseph Dowse, Esq.
William Pyncheon, Esq.
John Mascarene, Esq.
Charles King
David Britton

1769. Wardens

James Grant
George Deblois
(Vestry same as 1768)

1770. Wardens

George DeBlois
Stephen Higginson
(Vestry same as 1769)

1771. Wardens

George Deblois
James Grant
Vestry
John Fisher, Esq.
Joseph Dowse, Esq.,
Wm. Pyncheon
Capt. Chas. King

David Britton
Thomas Poynton

1772. Wardens
(same as 1771)

1773. Wardens
(same as 1771)

1774. Wardens
(same as 1771)

1775. Wardens
(same as 1771)

1776. Wardens
(no officers elected until 1781)

1781. Wardens
Samuel Luscomb
John Butler

Vestry
Capt. David Britton
William Pyncheon, Esq.
Joseph Dowse, Esq.
William Wetmore, Esq.
Thomas Fitch Oliver

1782. Wardens
Thomas Fitch Oliver
Capt. Benjamin Carpenter

Vestry
Capt. David Britton
Joseph Dowse, Esq.
Wm. Pyncheon, Esq.
Wm. Wetmore, Esq.
Mascoll Williams
Wm. Hathorne
John Butler

1783. Wardens
James Barr
Mascoll Williams
Vestry
Capt. David Britton
Joseph Dowse, Esq.
Capt. Jonathan Ingersoll
Samuel Blyth
Capt. William Hathorne

1784. Wardens
Mascoll Williams
Habakkuk Bowditch

Vestry
William Pyncheon
James Barr
William Wetmore

1785. Wardens
James Barr
Capt. Stephen Abbot
Vestry
William Pyncheon
William Wetmore
Mascoll Williams
Capt. William Hathorne
Joseph Bowditch

1786. Wardens
Robert Lefavour
Capt. Stephen Abbot

Vestry
Capt. Britton
William Pyncheon, Esq.
Capt. William Hathorne
Mascoll Williams
Joseph Bowditch
Col. Carlton
James Barr

1787. Wardens
Capt. Stephen Abbot
Robert Lefavour

Vestry
James Bott
William Pyncheon, Esq.
Capt. William Hathorne
Mascoll Williams
Joseph Bowditch
Col. Carlton
James Barr

1788. Wardens
James King
Major Stephen Abbott

Vestry
James Bott
Mascoll Williams
James Barr
William Pyncheon, Esq.
Joseph Bowditch
Col. Carlton
Major Abbott

1789. Wardens
Samuel Blyth
John Howard

Vestry

Mascoll Williams
James Barr
Joseph Bowditch
Col. Carlton
Col. Stephen Abbott
James Bott
James King

1790. Wardens

John Howard
Col. Stephen Abbott

Vestry

Mascoll Williams
James Barr
Joseph Bowditch
Col. Carlton
Col. Stephen Abbott
James Bott
James King

1791. Wardens

Col. Stephen Abbott
John Howard

Vestry

James Barr
Joseph Bowditch
Col. Carlton
Col. Stephen Abbott
James King
James Bott
Mascoll Williams

1792. Wardens

Col. Stephen Abbott
Joseph Bowditch

Vestry

Col. Abbott
Joseph Bowditch
James Barr
James King
James Bott
Capt. Wm. Hathorne, Jr.
Capt. Francis Roach

1793. Wardens

Capt. Wm. Hathorne, Jr.
James Bott

Vestry

(same as 1792)

1794. Wardens

Wm. Hathorne
James Bott

Vestry

Capt. Jonathan Ingersoll
James Barr
James Bott
James King
Capt. Wm. Hathorne
Capt. Daniel Saunders
Thomas Roach

1795. Wardens

Wm. Hathorne
James Bott

Vestry

Capt. Jonathan Ingersoll
James Barr
James King
James Bott
Capt. Wm. Hathorne
Capt. Daniel Saunders
Capt. Benjamin Carpenter
Capt. John Murphy
Francis Roche

1796. Wardens

Wm. Hathorne
James Bott

Vestry

Capt. Jonathan Ingersoll
James Barr
James Bott
James King
Capt. Wm. Hathorne
Capt. Daniel Saunders
Gen. Abbot
Rev. N. Fisher
F. Roche

1797. Wardens

Gen. Abbot
Capt. Benjamin Carpenter

Vestry

Capt. John Murphy
James Barr
Capt. Wm. Hathorne
James King
James Bott
Capt. Daniel Saunders
Rev. Nathaniel Fisher
Francis Roche

1798. Wardens

Capt. Wm. Hathorne
Simon Lamb

Vestry
(same as 1797)

1799. Wardens

Capt. Wm. Hathorne
Simon Lamb

Vestry

Joseph Perkins, Esq.
Capt. John Murphy
James Barr
Capt. Wm. Hathorne
James King
James Bott

Capt. Daniel Saunders
Rev. N. Fisher

1800. Wardens

Joseph Perkins, Esq.
Ezekiel Savage

Vestry

James King
Gen. Stephen Abbot
Capt. Benj. Carpenter
Capt. Clifford Crowninshield
Thomas Bancroft
Capt. Daniel Saunders
John Howard

Two "Sidesmen" were elected in the early days, whose duty it was to assist the Wardens.

The author is glad to acknowledge valuable assistance from Mrs. Samuel G. Babcock of Boston, Mrs. Charles Baird, Jr., of Marshall, Virginia, descendant of Col. William Fairfax, Mr. E. M. Shilstone, M. B. E., F. S. A., of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society, Miss Sarah H. Etheridge, Mrs. C. M. Duren, Miss Mabel Begley and especially from her Secretary, Mrs. Carroll F. Philbrook of Danvers.

FITZ LANE'S DRAWINGS

BY ALFRED MANSFIELD BROOKS

It is a well-known fact that artists' drawings, in the sense of sketches and memoranda for pictures to be painted later, particularly early American, are rare because they were seldom preserved in considerable numbers. But why should such drawings be preserved when they have served the ends for which they were made? The answer to this question lies first of all in the value of drawings per se. Are they to be regarded merely as means to an end, a painting, in the same way we regard the mould in which a fine piece of china is shaped and baked? Or are they to be regarded as works of art, ends in their own right? The first is self-explanatory. The last has never been better explained than it was by Goethe when he said — "drawings are invaluable, not only because they give, in its purity, the mental intention of the artists, but because they bring immediately before us the mood of his mind at the moment of creation."

The Cape Ann Scientific Literary and Historical Association of Gloucester has been given and just closed an exhibition of eighty pencil drawings by the well-known American painter, Fitz H. Lane (1804-1864) whose paintings are at present being much sought, and are appearing on the walls of our most important galleries. The provenance and history of this collection is simple. Upon Lane's death it went from his house¹ to his residuary heir and executor, the late Joseph L. Stevens who gave it to his friend, Samuel H. Mansfield, both of Gloucester, by whom it was presented to its present owner. These drawings which vary from small to very large carry many interesting notations made by Mr. Stevens, presumably after Lane's death, as to the circumstances in which they were made, frequently from the deck of a vessel lying off shore, and the persons present at the time. The artist was a cripple and had to sail or drive to the places where he sketched. Many of the drawings record parties of Mr. Lane's friends sailing the Maine coast as far as Mt. Desert

¹ See Essex Inst. Hist. Collections, vol. lxxviii, p. 281.

with him. Many more record day-long drives through Essex County and of course, along the shores of Cape Ann. Beside the Stevens notations there are a few pencillings in Lane's own hand. There are likewise appended the names of persons for whom the artist painted pictures on order, Gloucester, about Boston and further afield. W. Y. Balch, the Boston picture-dealer of the day was Lane's salesman or agent. Only one water color by him is known to exist.² The sole reference to his charges is a note in his own hand which refers to a small painting sold "at the low cost of fifty dollars."

Lane's drawings, like his paintings, have a threefold interest. First, of course, as works of a gifted artist. Then as a master of ship-painting in the sense of an accurate portraitist of rigging, spars, sails, and hull lines. Last, as a careful delineator of topography. It is his distinction that he managed precise, nautical details in such a way that his ship pictures are rarely "hard" and over-technical, as is so often the case, at the expense of the pictorial. This was his triumph. He does, upon occasion, suppress nautical detail for the sake of art but when he includes such detail, as is his custom, in unusual quantity, it is never inaccurate either through ignorance, intention or carelessness. All that he sets down is true. This was his strength. Whether his craft is at quiet anchorage, under full-sail, or storm-tossed, calm, breeze, or fierce gale — his boat, — dory, schooner or three-master — remains a veracious entity within the greater and equally veracious entity of the picture as a whole. To say this is to declare the first fundamental of a real picture. No man who paints such a picture can be other than a first rate draughtsman. This is not a claim that Fitz Lane was a consummate draughtsman, but merely that he stands well above average. As bearing upon this point I shall quote a familiar passage from a book by the American artist, the late Birge Harrison. "Drawing is the grammar of art. As a grammar is the framework on which all good literature is built, so drawing is the foundation of all good painting." While such drawing is rare "truly great drawing — is one of the rarest qualities in all art — so rare that the great draughts-

2 See Essex Inst. Hist. Collections, vol. lxxix, p. 114.

men of the world can be counted upon the fingers of one hand." At the other extreme is the recent assertion that "everybody draws and almost everybody draws badly." The point is that, by and large, Lane was a remarkably able draughtsman.

Lane was not as has been said, persistently as ignorantly, a marine artist only. Landscapes number at least half his subjects, not to mention seascapes, water and shipping against land backgrounds. It is strange that among the drawings in the Mansfield collection only one is wholly sea and ship. Its extreme delicacy forbids reproduction. But delicacy and firmness of touch which in Lane's best painting border on genius are even more characteristic of his drawing. It is kin to the delicacy of "touch" which, neither in music nor in painting, implies weakness or sentimentality as many persons thoughtlessly suppose. The ancient fact remains that all great art is delicate. Thackeray said it nicely. "To use a cue at billiards is like using a pencil or a flute well." In nothing does Lane's drawing measure up to the standard of delicacy better than in his depiction of the long, subtle curve of a beach or the yet subtler curves of a salt-creek twisting and doubling upon itself through reaches of marshland. In nothing is he proved a master more than in his ability, with a few delicate and closely placed almost parallel lines to suggest receding planes of distance together with the objects — rocks, ledges, grasses, bushes, trees, buildings and church spires in each plane. He was also a master of the panorama as his drawings and lithographs made from them of Boston, Portland and Gloucester behind their foreground of harbor and shipping prove. It is scarcely too much to say that Lane was preeminently the painter of New England's mid-nineteenth century sea business at its home berth. In his panoramic drawings as in his ship pictures he may suppress detail, which means that not every tree or house is shown, but that every one that does show is truly drawn, a touch of truth to fact the sum of which touches establish the unusual truthfulness of his drawing or his picture as a whole.

Finally, these drawings have topographical as well as artistic and historical interest in that they show the "lay"

of land now built over, and the look of streets which have been lowered, raised or straightened and seventeenth and eighteenth century buildings that are gone or completely remodelled. Also the ancient appearance of docks, wharves and cranes and areas now deforested that Lane drew in their virginal state. In fine, apart from their artistry which is so good, these drawings are intimate records of shipping that is outmoded, along with its attendant business; of town and city modernized; of seashore, waterfront and countryside, not only of Gloucester but throughout Essex County, quite changed from what they were during the first half of the last century and earlier before the present, mechanistic civilization had taken entire possession of the land of the Puritan. It would be as enlightening as interesting, if space allowed, to illustrate the Rev. William Bentley's "tour of Cape Ann" as he made it before 1800, during two days and recorded it meticulously with Lane's drawings of much that Bentley refers to and which has long since departed. So, too, of many another passage in his incomparable journal. But when all is done and said these Lane drawings in themselves constitute a brilliant if brief chapter in the great and ever-lengthening book "Our Fathers Have Told Us."

ORDERLY BOOK KEPT BY CAPT. ABRAHAM
DODGE OF IPSWICH, JANUARY 1, 1776 TO
AUGUST 1, 1776.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN POSSESSION OF
THE ESSEX INSTITUTE.

(Continued from Volume LXXX, Page 384.)

The Col. or Commanding Officer of the 9th 11th & 12th Regts. an desired to make a line round each of the Forts and fortifications for the Troops to begin a fire Upon the enemy if they Should Attempt to Storm the Works and the Troops are to be made Acquainted that they are by no means to begin a fire sooner than at the enemies Arrival at these lines, Unless Commanded by the Commanding officers of the Works Ye line should be About 80 yards from Ye Parapet The Commanding officers at the Guards at fort Green and fort Putnam to find A Patrolling Party every hour to patrol round the works for About a Quarter of a mile to detect the enemy If they should attempt to get Possession of the works by surprize With a Partizen Party the Gen^l thanks both officers and soldiers that Turn'd out voluntarily to Work yesterday upon the little Cobble Hill such an Instance of Publick Spirit is Truly Laudabl and Shall not go unrewarded if the General ever has it in his power to make a more suitable acknowledgment no Officer below the Rank of a Field Officer to dge out of the Camp from their Companies on any pretence whatsoever sickness excepted, the General recommends the strictest discipline and dailey attention to the Arms and Amunitions that we may be prepared for action at a moments warning —

The Troops of this Brigade being very sickly the General recommends a dailey attention to be paid to the Cookery of the Provision, and that broiling and Frying meet so destructive to health be prohibited and that the officers of each Comy take in Turn Dailey to attend the messes for that purpose —

Head Quarters July 2d 1776
Parole Armstrong

Countersign Lee
(87)

General Mifflin is to repair to the post Near Kings Bridge and use his utmost endeavours to forward the Works there, General Scott in the meantime to perform the duty required for General Mifflin in the Orders of the 29 Instant no Centries No Centries are to stop or molest the Country Peoples coming to market or going from it but to be very vigilant in Preventing Soldiers leaving the Army —

Col Corthland of the New Jersey Brigade is to send Over 300 of the malitia under his Command to reinforce Genl. Greens Brigade, these Troops are to be distinguished from the old Malitia in future by being called New Levies —

The Q^r master General to furnish them with Tents the detachment from General Spencers Brigade to return when they get Over the Malitia not undr the immediate Command of General Heard are to be under that of General Mercers until the Arrival of their own General Officer —

The time is now near at Hand which must Probably Determine Whether Americans Are Freemen Or Slaves, Whether they Are to have any Property they Can Call their own, whether their Houses and Farms are to be Pilaged and distressed and they Consign'd to a State of Wretchedness from which no Human Efforts will Probably deliver them —

The Fate of Unborn millions will now depend (under God) on the Courage and Conduct of this Army — Our Cruel and unrelenting Enemy leaves us no Choice but bare resistance, or the most Abject Submission —

This is all we Can expect therefore to resolve to Conquer or die — our own our Countries Honour all Call upon us for a Vigorous and Manly exertion and if we now shamefully fail we shall become Infamous to the whole World let us therefore Rely upon the Goodness of our Cause and the Aid of the Supreme being in whose hands Victory is to animate and encourage us to great and Noble Actions the eyes of all our Countrymen are now upon us and we shall have their Blessings and Praises if Haply We are the Instruments of saving them from the Tyranny meditated against them let us therefore animate and Encourage each other and show the World that a Freeman Contending on

his own Ground is Superior to any Slavish Mercenary on earth ———

The General Recommends to the Officers Great Coolness in time of action and to the soldiers a strict attention and obedience with becoming firmness and Spirit An officer or soldier or any Particular Corps distinguishing themselves by any acts of Bravery or Courage will assuredly meet with notice and rewards and on ye other Hand those who behave ill will as Certainly be exposed and punished, the General being resolved as well for the Honour and Safety of the Country as Ye Army to Shew no favour to such as refuse or Neglect their duty at such Important a Crisis The Genl. Expressly orders that no Officer or Soldier on any pretence Whatsoever without leave in writing from the Commanding Officer of the Regiment to leave the parade so as to be out of Drum Call In Case of an Alarm which may be hourly expected the Regiments are immediately to be under Arms on their Respective Parades and should any be absent they will be severly Punished the Whole Army to be at their Alarm Posts Compleatly Equipped to morrow a little before day ———

Working Parties to morrow the same as to day as there is A Probability of rain the General Strongly recommends to the officers to take particular Care of their Arms and Amunitions that they may neither be damaged ———

Brigadier for the day General Green Heath Field Officer for the Picquit Col Baldwin Lieut Col Durkee and Major Levingston.

Brigade Major for the day Levingston

General Greens Orders

A Picquit of 50 men in for Putnam 25 at Fort Box and a sergeant and 12 men at the Mill Dam these to be furnish'd from the 9th 11th & 12 Regts a Picquit of 20 men at fort Sterling and 20 at Smiths Redoubt on Cobble Hill those of Col. Wards Regt. of Jersey Malitia upon an alarm to form in the Rear of Fort Green the Centries to be posted at the front of the redoubts the Major of Brigade to see to the posting them. Patrole to be Kept up from Fort Putnam every Hour ———

Head Quarters July 3d

Parole Brunswick

Countersign Princetown

The Director General of the Hospital having laid before the General a plan of conduct for the Surgeons and mates of the Regiment by which in time of Action they may do their duty with Greater ease and benefit of the service and the general much approving thereof —

The are to attend the director Genl. and each Taking a Copy of the plan to which they are strictly to comply the Adjutants of the several Regiments to make this Order Particularly known to each Surgeon and mate without Delay — a working party to morrow Consisting of 800 men properly officered from Genl. Heaths Lord Sterlings Spencers and Scotts Brigades Spencers at Bayards Hill plain and Ganer's Hill Capt Chapman to direct them —

The others to apply at the Engineers store for Tools and Directions, at the west end of the upper Barricks, Scotts Brigade in Particular not to depart the Store till they have a director they being unacquainted did not find the place destin'd for them yesterday by which means the works at the bomb Battery were entirely omitted —

General Greens Orders

Field Officer for the Day tomorrow Majr Collins

Adj't from Col. Littles Regiment

Head Quarters July 4 1776

Parole

Countersign

The Col. or Commanding Officers of Regiments are to make out pay Abstracts for the month of May these Are to be Carefully examin'd by the Brigadiers undr Whom they serve, and by the paymaster Genl. before the warrants are brought to be signed by the Genl. they are then to deliver them in and receive payments

Brigadr for the day General Lord Sterling.

General Greens Orders

Field Officer for the day to morrow Lieut. Col. Cornall

Adj't. from Col Varnums Regt.

The Officers Commanding the Guards at the differant Posts to be Accountable for everything in the Forts but more perticularly for the Rum Lodged in the Works for the people in time of Action any man that is detected Medling with any of the impliments belonging to the Works or with the Liquors without the permission of the Captain

of the Guard Shall be severely punished and every Officer that suffers it shall repair the damage out of his own private purse An Inventory of everything in the Works to be Given to the Officer of Ye Guards at the Several Posts, which inventory to be Compared with the thing every morning at the time the Troops Come from the Alarm Posts by each Commanding Officer at their respective Posts, Every Regiment to furnish a Picquet Guard for their Alarm Post and the Brigade Major to give each Regiment credit for the number dailey furnish'd in ye detail of duty —

The 9th 11th & 12th Regts. and the New Jersey Battalions under the Command of Col Cadmas and Col Ward to furnish a Fatigue Party to morrow of 250 men

A Garrison Court martial to set to morrow for the Trial of the Prisoners now under Guard-Captains of Companies in the most earnest manner requested Not to neglect examining the Arms and Amunitions of their men and have them in Readiness at all times for Action the Genl. recommends to the Captains and Subaltern Officers a Close Application to the duty of their office and desires they will not suffer the pleasures and Amusements of life to divert them from so Necessary Attention —

Head Quarters July 5

Parole Cambridge

Countersign Durham

The Regts. who have not made a return of the Names of their Officers their Rank and Date of their Commissions agreeable to former Order Are now Called upon to do it without Delay And to make mention in such Returns the Colonies in which Regiment was Rais'd — the time when and Period for which they have Inlisted together with the Vacancies of their Respective Regiments —

Brigadier for the day General Scott Field Officer for the Picquet Col. Ritzma Lt. Col. Clerk and Major Abner

Brigade Major for the day Hendley

General Greens Orders

Field Officer for the day tomorrow Major Smith Field

Officer for Red Hook Lieut Col Henshaw

Head Quarters July 6 1776

Parole Essex

Countersign France

The Q^r master General to have all the empty Cask

Which have been Collected filled With fresh Water to be Chang'd occasionally the General Hopes the officers and Soldiers will Improve This Oppertunity to get their Arms in the best Ord^r for service as they Cannot tell how soon or suddenly they maybe Called forth — fatigue to morrow in Camp the same as this Day, 200 men properly officerd exclusive of the Number ordered the 3d Instant to parade to morrow morning at 5 oClock at the laboratory with 4 days Provision, they will receive Tools and Directions from the Chief Engineer —

Brigadier for the day General Heath Field Officer for Picquit Col Huntington Lieut. Col. Hardenburge and Major Knolten —

Brigade Major for the Day Levingston

Camp att Brookline July 6 1776

General Greens Orders

The ferry guard upon An Alarm in the Night to repair to fort Sterling and Support that Post the Camp Cullinum of Col Hitchcocks Regt. to level the Ground where the Regiment lately moved from and bury All the Filth left on the Ground —

Field Officer for the day to morrow Col. Venum for the Picquit Major Angell Adjt from Col. Littles Regiment

Head Quarters July 7, 1776

A working party of 150 men properly officer'd to go to Kings Bridge to morrow morning at 6 oClock from the Parade they are to take two days Provisions with them after which they will draw out of the stores there — to take their Arms and tents with them & When they get there General Mifflin will give them orders — As the enemy may may make an attempt early in the morning when there may not be time Enough for the soldiers to fill their Canteens the General directs that they may be filled every morning The officers to take Care that it is not Neglected as it is a matter of much Consequence at this season —

Some persons having barbarously wounded & Maimed some Cattle belonging to Leonard Lispenard Esq^r on Friday last the General hopes no soldier in the Army is Concern'd in sd case and scandalous an Action but if it Should Appear other ways such persons may depend on the most severe punishment — Any person who Can give Informa-

tion in the matter will be well rewarded —

Brigad^r for the Day Genl. Spencer Field Officer for Picquit Col. Webb and Lieut. Col Wesson and Majr Sherman Brigade Major for the Day Peck

General Greens Morning Orders July 8 1776

Col. Vernums Regiment to move their Encampment to Red Hook and the Regt to do the duty of that Post the tents to be struck at 8 oClock in the morning and march at ten. the Qr master of the Regiment to Apply to Mr Champney for Wagons to remove Ye Baggage —

A new Jersey Regiment Commanded by Col. Freeman being ordered to reinforce these posts the Regt to encamp on the Ground lately occupied by Col. Hitchcocks Regiment —

Head Quarters July 8th 1776

Parole Johnson

Countersign Lebenon

The new Levies from Connecticut and New Jersey dailey arriving a report is to be made every day to the General of the number arriving by the Commanding Officer of each Corps in Order Yt Proper arrangment may be made all officers are Required to be Carefull that their men are acquainted with the Orders that they may not Plead Ignorance —

General Greens Orders July 8 1776

Col. Freemans Regiment to Occupy the Alarm Posts that Col. Vernums Regiment have done heretofore namely fort Box and the Oblong redoubts. The Brigade Major to lead their Troops to the Alarm Post at seven oClock in the evening that no Confusion may arise upon an Alarm, the guards for the several Posts to be Continued the same as before and to be given by detail from the 11 and 12 Regts of the old Establiment and the Jersey New Levies that the whole may duty together that ye new levies may have the benefit of the knowlodge of the Standing Troops.

Head Quarters July 9 1776

Parole Manchester

Countersn Norfolk

John Evens of Capt Ledyards Comy in Col Mac Dougalls Regiment, Hopkins Rice of Capt Pierces Company in Col. Ritzmas Regt. having been Tried by a Genl Court martial where of Col. Reed was President and found guilty

of desertion and sentenced to receive 39 lashes the General Approves of the sentences and Orders them to be executed at the Usual time and Place —

Passes to go from the City are hereafter to be granted by John Renier Henry Willmot and John Ray Junr. a committee of the City for that purpose —

Officers of the Guard at Ferries and Wharves to be Carefull to make this Regulation known to the Centries who are to see that the passes are sign'd by one of the Above and to be Carefull that no soldier goes over Ye ferry without a pass from a Genl officer the North River Guard to be removed to the Market House Near the ferry Stairs as soon as it is fitted —

The Hon^{ble} the Continental Congress having been pleas'd to allow a Chaplain to each Regiment with the pay of 33 2/2 dollars pr month the Col and Commanding Officer of each Regt. are directed to procure Chaplains, Accordingly Persons of Good Character and exemplary lives to see that all inferior officers and soldiers pay them suitable respect and Attend Carefully upon religious Exercises Blessings and protections of Heaven are all at times Necessary but Especially so in times of Publick Distress and Danger the General hopes and Trusts that all officers and soldiers will endeavour to live and act as becomes a Christian and soldier defending the dearest rights and Liberties of his Country —

The Hon^{ble} the Continental Congress having impelled by the dictates of duty Policy and Necessity having been Pleas'd to dissolve the Connection which Subsisted between this Country and Great Britain and to declare the united Colonies of North America Free and Independant States —

(To be continued)

BOOK REVIEWS

HERMAN MELVILLE, THE TRAGEDY OF MIND. By William Ellery Sedgwick. 1944. 255 pp., octavo, cloth. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. Price, \$2.75.

Mr. Sedgwick analyzes Melville's books in chronological order. He specifically deals with the ductibility of Melville's mind. This ductibility pervades his books and goes on in a continuous flow from *Typee* to *Billy Budd*. The author considers "Melville's books as the record in their innermost recesses, of that unfolding. It is, as I must see it, an unfolding of inward vision, a vision not so much of life as of what it is to be alive, and alive as a complete human being and not a mere two-thirds or three-quarters of one. How much there was, as one might say, to implement that vision I have indicated by the range of Melville's diverse capacities and the interaction between them . . . the different elements and modes of his being are the salient features which his books have in common." Melville was always searching for the ultimate truth of creation, reasoning as Hawthorne, a personal friend said, "Of Providence and futurity, and of everything that lies beyond human ken." Recommended to all libraries.

THE COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY OF FALL RIVER, MASSACHUSETTS, A STUDY OF INDUSTRIAL LOCALIZATION. By Thomas Russell Smith. 1944. 175 pp., octavo, paper. Morningside Heights, New York: King's Crown Press. Price \$2.00.

This study of industrial localization deals specifically with the cotton textile industry of Fall River. Dr. Smith describes the rise of the city from a small town in a district with an agricultural-maritime economy to an industrial center. This rise in the textile industry was due in part to the geographic features, such as water power, climatic advantages and nearness to markets. Discussion follows concerning the shift of the textile industry to the south and the decline in Fall River. The survival of the industry in Fall River is due to adaptation within the local mills and the lessening of

other factors—the narrowing of the wage differential between north and south, the lowering of taxes and the changing of labor legislation. A bibliography is included.

THE STORY OF A FAMILY THROUGH ELEVEN CENTURIES
ILLUSTRATED BY PORTRAITS AND PEDIGREES BEING A
HISTORY OF THE FAMILY OF GORGES. By Raymond
Gorges. 1944. 289 pp., quarto, cloth, illus. Boston:
Privately printed.

This history of the Gorges family traces the ancestry from Ralph de Gorges of Normandy. The basis to a large extent of this genealogy is the manuscript on the Gorges family, compiled by the Rev. Frederick Brown. It is written in story form with entertaining descriptions of persons, places and events. Interesting documents and letters are included. Mr. Gorges has recorded also human personality “in order to give life to the written page, to preserve, as it were, a fleeting fragrance of rosemary from the old garden.” The book is well illustrated. There is an index.

THE
ESSEX INSTITUTE
HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

VOL. LXXXI — APRIL, 1945

ISSUED QUARTERLY



SALEM, MASS.

PRINTED FOR THE ESSEX INSTITUTE

Essex Institute Historical Collections

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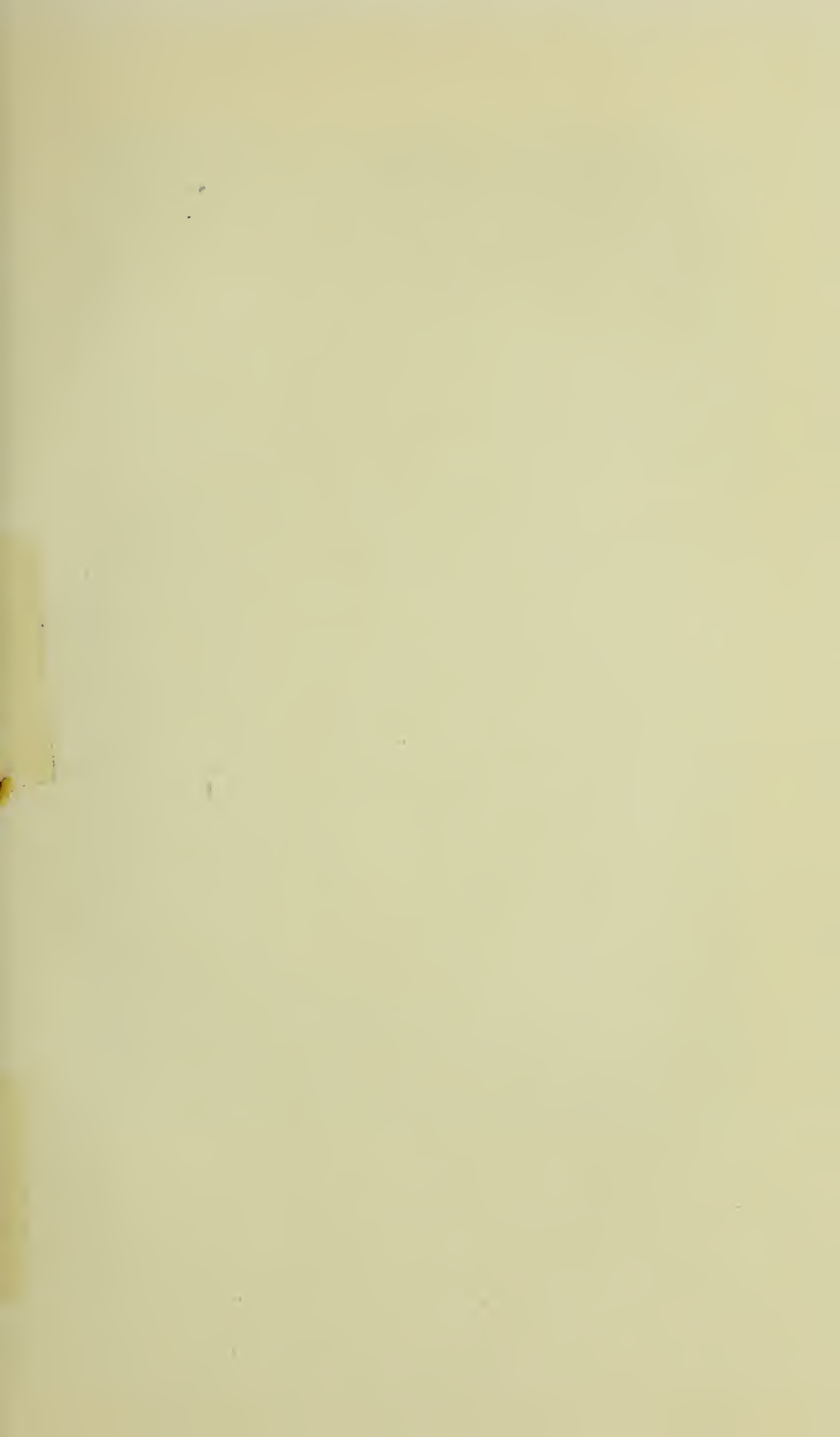
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The HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS are published quarterly in January, April, July and October, each volume containing a complete index. Yearly subscription, \$3.00. The Essex Institute disavows responsibility for the positions taken by contributors to its pages.

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PICKMAN LOVING CUP

Made by William Swan and presented by the Province of Massachusetts Bay
to Benjamin Pickman of Salem, in 1749.

ESSEX INSTITUTE

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

VOL. LXXXI

APRIL, 1945

No. 2

ESSEX INSTITUTE MUSEUM COLLECTIONS SILVER

BY RUSSELL LEIGH JACKSON, DIRECTOR

Among the many collections in the Essex Institute, probably there is none in which is represented the primitive craving of man to demonstrate his skill in workmanship more than in the display of silver. For centuries, man has delighted to fashion articles, not only for general utility but for adornment, out of the crude metals of the earth and among the metals, since the earliest recorded historical periods, silver has enjoyed the reputation of being the highly favored among craftsmen. Even before workings in gold became common, the silversmith was known and the efforts of his labors were among the furnishings of the rich and royal. For that reason it is not surprising that among the earliest immigrants to America there were silversmiths and workers in fine metals. Essex County has been highly favored in the number and quality of her silversmiths and the Essex Institute is fortunate in holding among its collections some very fine examples of the work of these early smiths. It is difficult to know just where to start in a short article on the silver in the Institute and space does not permit mentioning more than an outstanding few of the works of art.

Probably from the standpoint of historic value, the tablespoon fashioned by Paul Revere, better known to the school boy as the hero of a midnight ride than as a worker in metals, is noteworthy and the silver loving cup presented to Benjamin Pickman of Salem in 1749, the gift of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, is one of the charming pieces which always attracts attention. It was made by

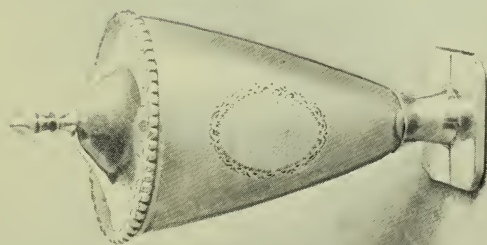
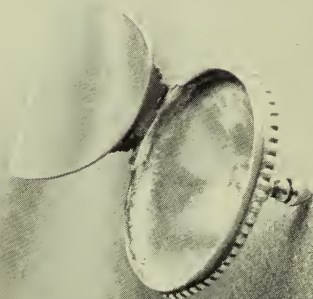
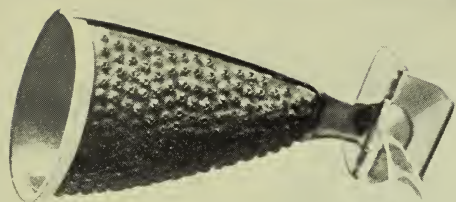
William Swan of Boston and bears the date 1749. Pickman, who was a contemporary of Sir William Pepperrell, Baronet,¹ played an important part in the events which culminated in the downfall of the French Empire in North America. A silver snuff box engraved on the bottom "Sir William Pepperrell, Baronet, 1746," memorializes this important event. The importance of the fall of Louisburg is emphasized in the reception given to Sir William by Salem people during his homeward journey from Boston to Portsmouth, and the Institute has a silver can made by William Holmes, a Boston silversmith, inscribed "Louisburg, June 17, 1745," beneath a cannon and an English flag. Strangely enough, this was just thirty years to a day before the Battle of Bunker Hill, one of the important engagements which resulted in wresting the vast part of the North American continent from the British, and this can is supposed to have been a part of the silver presented to the Baronet by the City of London.

Revere's outstanding competitor, Benjamin Burt, the corpulent patriot whose presence was felt physically as well as orally in many of the meetings of the Sons of Liberty in Boston, is also represented in the collection with a porringer.²

The Institute collection, for the sake of identification, may roughly be divided into two groups, that portion made by Essex County silversmiths and the other by craftsmen from outside the County for persons who lived in Essex County. However, in several instances, the names of the silversmiths who lived outside the County were invariably connected in one way or another with the County. One of the earliest and one of the better known silversmiths today was John Hull of Boston. This is the same John Hull who became the mint master for the Massachusetts Bay

1 Pepperrell's Essex County interest lies in the fact that he married Mary Hirst, daughter of Grove Hirst and granddaughter of Chief Justice Samuel Sewall. Lady Pepperrell was thus a grandniece of Major Stephen Sewall of Salem.

2 Benjamin Burt, 1729-1804, is mentioned several times in Esther Forbes' "Paul Revere and the World He Lived in." The outstanding characteristic was his weight, 380 pounds. Hannah Mather, niece of Governor Hutchinson, also mentions him.



SILVER NUT-MEG GRATER

By Joseph Hiller

Colony and who coined the Pine Tree Shillings. As is often the case, a man's fame rests upon a tradition which usually is fabulous and so does John Hull's for he is widely known as the man who is supposed to have given his daughter Hannah her weight in shillings as a dowry upon her marriage to Samuel Sewall of Newbury, later Chief Justice of the Colony and who to his everlasting regret, was a member of the infamous Court of Oyer and Terminer which presided over the witchcraft trials in 1692. There is at least one example of Hull's work in the collection, which is a silver spoon with a slip handle and bears Hull's identification. On the face of the handle very near the top are the initials W B H, William and Hannah Brown who were married in 1664. Inasmuch as Hull died in 1683, one may get some idea of its age and value.

John Edwards was another early Boston silversmith whose work is represented in the collection in at least four instances, two spoons, a cup and a mug. John Edwards' hall mark easily identifies his work; he had three, one, crude capitals I E, in plain quatre foil; another, similar in quatre foil with four projections, the second Roman capital I E in two semi-circles with two projections and the third, crude capitals, crown with a fleur-de-lis below in a shield. John Edwards' son Samuel, who also carried on the business in Boston, used a similar mark and his work is also represented in the Essex Institute.

John Edwards is further represented by a very fine example of a silver cup with two handles marked with a P on the bottom, the wedding gift of Jonathan and Sarah Perley Putnam of Danvers, 1736. Another cup which was a part of the Perley Putnam wedding service, was made by G. Hanners, Boston.

Quite as important as silversmiths but who have not been as historically well known were the Moultons of Newburyport, who through successive generations created what may well be classed the Moulton dynasty. It was founded by Joseph Moulton, (1680-1756) first, and was successfully carried on by his son, grandson and other lineal descendants into the present century. Joseph Moulton's hall mark was a palette between Roman capitals in a

scalloped rectangle Roman I M. There is one fine example in a spoon in the Institute collection. The second Joseph Moulton used a similar hall mark, the only difference being that the initials were small script capitals with a cross between in the rectangle. The later Moultons apparently ceased to use the initial but used the full name, J. Moulton, about 1800. There is one good example, a tablespoon, marked in this way that belonged to Mrs. Michael Little, (Hannah Leigh) of Newbury. W. P. Jones, who was associated with the Moultons in the 1880's, is represented by a pictorial spoon bearing the date 1886, showing the Pearson-Leigh House on Leigh's Hill, Newbury.

The Moultons are one of the very few families which successfully carried on in the same line for over two hundred years, the late William Moulton of Moulton and Lunt, Newburyport jewelers, being remembered by many of the present day. All of these successive generations of Moultons lived and died in Newbury or Newburyport with the exception of William,³ the son of the first and father of the second Joseph, who became interested in the Ohio Company and in 1788 went with the Cutler Expedition to Marietta. He and his wife, son Enoch and daughters Anna and Lydia are mentioned as refugees in an Indian raid by S. P. Hildreth in 1791. Moulton was then 70 and came out of his house to seek refuge from the redskins in the Fort with his leather apron full of old goldsmith's tools and tobacco. His daughter Anna married Dr. Josiah Hart, one of the early physicians of Marietta and his daughter Lydia married Dr. Leonard, an English surgeon of great eccentricity.

It probably would be quite a revelation to know how few people today know what a porringer is and the several porringers in the Institute always attract attention. Two are by Jeffrey Lang, a Salem smith, (1707-1758), marked I-LANG, small shaded Roman capitals in a long oval. One of these belonged to Ann Fawcett Grafton Fenno Dow, grandmother of Frank Preston Dow and the other

³ Moulton Genealogy, Henry W. Moulton, p. 270. Also "Old Essex as a Factor in the Settlement of the Great Northwest," by Russell Leigh Jackson in *Americana*, Vol. 9, p. 987.

belonged to Lois Orne.⁴ Thomas Edwards, Boston, 1701-1755, is represented by a porringer which is marked "gift of Mrs. Rachel Barnard to Mrs. Rachel Ward, 1736," and which came to the Institute from the estate of George B. Farrington.

Edward Winslow, another Boston silversmith, is represented in a third porringer, which also probably belonged to the Orne family. These came in with the Edwards spoon previously mentioned in the Lee Collection. For the edification of the uninformed, a porringer was nothing more than a deep plate with one or two handles from which one ate porridge. Today, they would make ample soup plates and if one wished to drink from them, the handle would be quite useful.

The Church silver in the collection is not extensive but there is one outstanding set, a part of the Communion Service of the Hamilton Congregational Church, which includes two beakers, one the gift of Capt. Daniel Rindge and the other the gift of John and Martha Thompson, both to what was then the Third Church of Ipswich. There is another beaker although apparently not a part of the Communion Service, which was made by Joseph Hall, an Albany silversmith, in 1781. and also two other beakers which are inscribed J S 1800 and J. Silver 1800.⁵ It is said that Mr. Silver bought these beakers for use in his family because so many glasses were being broken.

There is also a flagon which is part of this same service made by Reed and Barton and given to the Church in 1877 by Gail Hamilton in memory of her mother.⁶

The Wenham Congregational Church Communion silver which is deposited with the Essex Institute includes two flagons of Sheffield plate made by Israel Trask of Beverly in 1847; six cups were given by Capt. Edmund Kimball in 1827 and a Communion basket, a gift of the Juvenile Society in 1843.

4 Lois Orne was the daughter of Timothy and Lois (Pickering) Orne. She married Thomas Lee.

5 James Silver of Salem married Susannah Howard of Danvers in 1793.

6 Gail Hamilton (Mary Abigail Dodge) was a daughter of James Brown and Hannah (Stanwood) Dodge. She is best remembered as being coeditor with J. T. Trowbridge and Lucy Larcom of "Our Young Folks."

The Salem Communion silver is represented in three pieces, one a Sheffield plate dish used for the Communion bread in the Branch Church, (the Old Howard Street Church), and a ladle with a perforated bowl which was used to remove flies from the Communion wine, made by Jabez Baldwin in 1810. Both were gifts of Catherine M. Gray.

There is also a covered Communion dish presented to St. Peter's Episcopal Church of Salem by the members in 1818.

A knife and fork which attract considerable attention because of its owner, was once the property of Dr. Edward Augustus Holyoke, the famed centenarian, as well as a silver casket made in Amsterdam in 1660, for the family of Thomas Tappan of Newburyport.

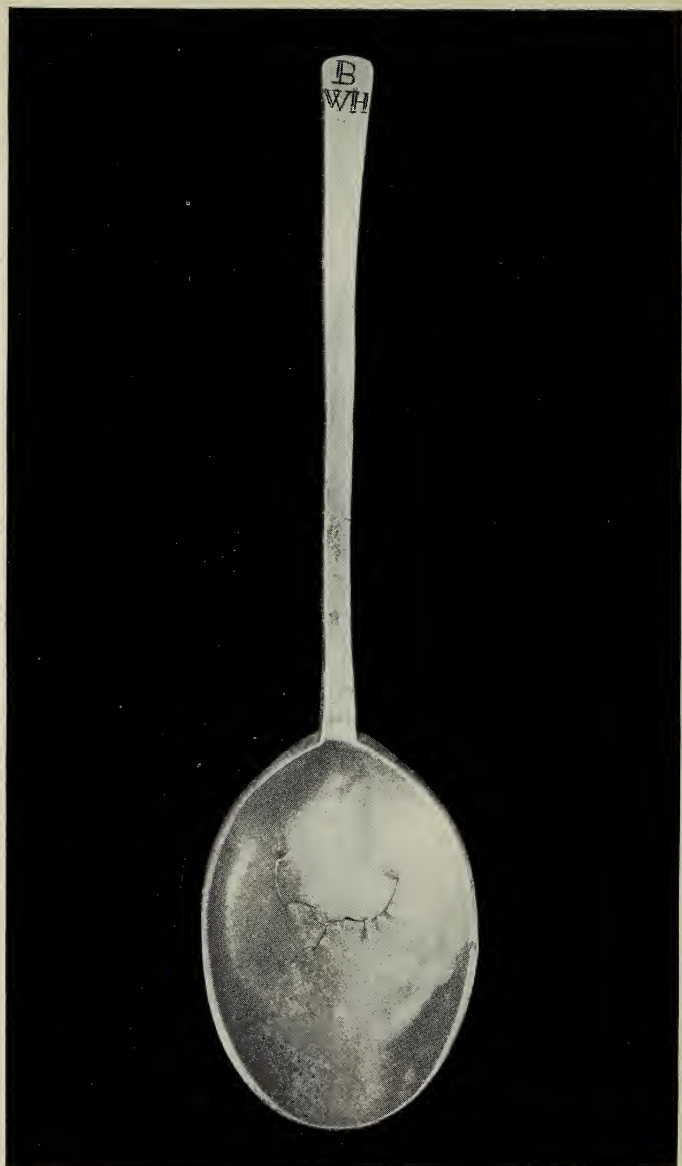
Armorial silver, while not highly featured in the collection, is not noticeably lacking. One very fine can made by John Heard, bears the Simpson coat of arms and there are two cans which bear the Pickman arms, which belonged to William and Elizabeth Pickman.

The early silversmith had a very interesting way of adorning some very ordinary utilitarian products with the beauty of his craftsmanship and this is distinctly noticeable in the nutmeg grater which Joseph Hiller of Salem, made. At first glance, it somewhat resembles a covered chalice but strangely enough, the top lifts back and the sides separate and from the inside appears a nutmeg grater.

Snuff boxes and patch boxes were common in the boudoirs of the 17th and 18th centuries and among the former is one that belonged to Rebecca Cabot, presented by Mrs. Francis H. Lee, and of the latter, there is one that was used by Sarah Perley who married Jonathan Putnam of Danvers, 1736, lent by Mrs. Perley Putnam. A third belonged to Mehitabel Parkman who became the wife of the Reverend George Curwen.⁷

Two 18th century vases are interesting as they are of Italian make and bear the Papal Arms and the Shield,

⁷ Rev. George Curwen was the father of Capt. Samuel Curwen, author and Royalist. Capt. Curwen played an important part in the New England expedition against Louisburg.



HULL SPOON

Earliest example in the Institute Collection made by the famous mintmaster, John Hull of Boston, about 1664 for William and Hannah Brown of Salem.

and were lent by Henry W. Belknap. These rank with the Persian rose-water sprinklers as examples of foreign make. Another foreign example is the Sheffield tankard, formerly in the Edward Norris Family and lent by Henry L. Colby.

There are two outstanding sets which are reminiscent of the early days of the Eastern Railroad which came in to Salem a little more than a century ago; one is a pitcher and cups presented to John Kinsman, superintendent of the railroad by friends in 1851; the other, six cups, was presented to George E. Goldthwaite by passengers of the railroad the following year.

An interesting part of the entire collection would be omitted if no mention were made of the silver toys which belonged to the late Anstiss Howard and lent by Elizabeth Howard McDuffie. These number one hundred and fifty or more and include all sorts of household furniture as well as cutlery and collectors of miniature toys will find a great deal in this set which is, to say the least, unique.

Included in the Institute silver are several very fine pieces which are on display in the Pingree House, which is part of the Institute property. Among them are six cups made by Moulton of Newburyport; two of them probably belonged to Jacob Crowninshield, one time Secretary of the Navy, and all came from the Benjamin Barstow estate as the gift of Miss Miriam Shaw and Francis Shaw, Jr. Also belonging to the Barstow estate is a solid silver tea set made by Gordon of New York and was the wedding gift of James Dunlap and Sally Stone, who were married in 1793, and consists of a slop-bowl, tea pot, creamer, tea caddy and sugar bowl with cover. All are marked with crest. This was also a gift of Miss Shaw and Mr. Shaw.

Several of the candlesticks are also worthy of mention; one is a Sheffield plated pair, eleven inches tall, Adam design with fluted, beaded and acanthus motifs of the period of George the Third. These were handed down from the Gibbs family of Salem and came as the gift of William Aldrich. There are also two handsome plated candlesticks lent by William Crowninshield Endicott, Esq.

While the Institute collection of silver is not extensive, there are many interesting pieces and several makers of

outstanding reputation or historical prominence are represented. There is ample opportunity to increase the collection and particular attention is being paid to Essex County makers who were numerous and unusually proficient in the quality of their workmanship.

CONTRACT OF BENJAMIN PEARSON TO SET UP A CORN MILL, IN NEWBURY

Know all men by these present that whereas Henry Short of Newbury in the County of Essex hath given unto me Benjamin Pearson of Newbury aforesaid an obligasion to pay unto me fourteen pounds in money as in s^d obligasion bearing equall date heer with Know ye that I the said Benjamin Pearson do heerby oblige myself my heysrs exect^{rs} and adminis^{rs} to Provide for him ye s^d Short a good water wheele Coggwheele & trundle head suitable for his the said Shorts Corne Mill in Newbury & ye same & every part of s^d runing Gears to finish compleat & putt unto said mill fitt for Grinding corne w^{ch} said work to be finished by me between this & the fiveteenth day of June next ensuing, ye s^d Short to provid Coggs & rounds Ruff for sd work & boards for floatts for s^d runing Gears by water from M^r Dumers Landing place, being seasonably brought thither by me & I to be present & help load s^d Gears & unload y^m In wittness whereof I the s^d Benjamin Pearson have herto set my hand & seale this 15th day of May Ano Domi 1705

Signed sealed & delvrd

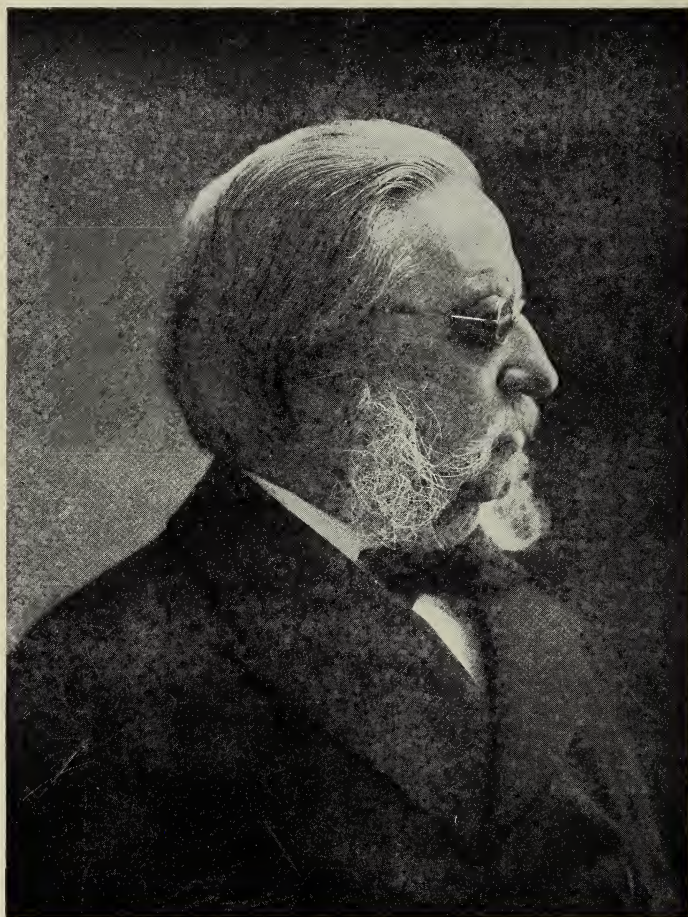
in prs^{ce} of

John Dummer

Benj^a Pearson

Sarah Dummer

—Essex Institute, Coffin Mss.. 1677-1777, p. 36.



PROFESSOR EDWARD PAYSON CROWELL

1830 - 1911

EDWARD PAYSON CROWELL—AN ESSEX BOY

BY JANE C. CROWELL, HIS DAUGHTER

The Crowell family is of English stock. Proof is not absolute but the bulk of the evidence goes to show that the name of the family was in the beginning Crowe and that the family originated in Coventry, Warwickshire. Toward the end of the seventeenth century, a family of that name, or part of the family, crossed from Coventry, to what is now Yarmouth, Massachusetts, having the forethought not to rush over in 1620, on the overcrowded deck of the Mayflower. After a lapse of some years, some of these Crowes went, or, shall I say, flew, further north along the Massachusetts coast and settled in Salem, which thereafter was the stamping ground of the Crowells. There is a legend in our branch and also in other branches, that the name was originally neither Crowe nor Crowell, but Cromwell, and that some one or ones of that name, crossing from Old England to New England, dropped the "M" overboard, not wishing to be hampered by such an ancestor as Oliver. But probably this is a myth, for there are no proofs.

Edward Payson Crowell's great grandfather was Samuel, who lived, when on shore, in Salem, but who spent most of the time at sea. His wife, one Mary Pease, of Andover, often accompanied him. Their son, Samuel, Junior, was also a sea captain. He commanded a privateer, the *Greyhound*, during the Revolution and after the war became master of a merchant ship, sailing for cargoes to the Far East, and was lost with his ship in the Indian Ocean about 1810. He and his wife, Lydia Woodbury, of Hollis, New Hampshire, left two children, Robert and Louisa; and also lost three sons who followed the sea. One died of yellow fever at sea; one went down with his ship in the Bay of Honduras, Central America; and the third was drowned in Salem Harbor. We, of my generation, who loved the sea intensely, like to think that some of the blood of our sea-going ancestors filtered down through the years into our veins.

Robert Crowell was born in Salem and received his early schooling there. He was graduated from Dartmouth

in 1811, with a Phi Beta Kappa key, studied theology and had one and only one pastorate, serving the Congregational Church in Essex, Massachusetts, from his installation in 1815, until his death in 1855. Essex is a little village at the head of the Essex river about twelve miles north of Salem. Ship building flourished here for many years, waned and is now sporadic, except for the impetus given it in the war effort. If you come into Essex over the causeway from West Gloucester, it might be your privilege to see a ship glide gently off the ways into the water, a beautiful sight.

Robert Crowell married Hannah Choate, of Essex, fifth in direct line from John, the first Choate coming from England to settle in America. John came in 1643, from County Essex, England, to Chebacco, Massachusetts, which later became Essex. Hannah's father, David Choate, was a farmer, prominent in church and town affairs. When her father died, her oldest brother David was needed at home, so that he could not go to college, but he did attend Atkinson (N. H.) Academy. Had he had more advantages, he would probably have gone far. He did, however, teach the village school for many years and his teaching ability was known outside the place. Boys were sometimes sent from a distance to live in his family so as to be under his tutelage. He was a close friend of Mary Lyon, helped advise her in the Mt. Holyoke project and was a trustee of the Seminary, 1836-1843. He was a representative in the Legislature, 1839-1841. Hannah Choate's brother, Rufus Choate, graduated from Dartmouth, studied law and became a well-known lawyer in Boston. Her family must have been very fond of Hannah, for they evidently did not want to let her go far from home. After her marriage her father built an addition to the Choate homestead which the Crowells bought and he also bequeathed to her, his "side-door for her front door, the room beyond it, and the bedroom above the latter." There in this apartment, Edward Payson Crowell was born, September 7th, 1830.

To digress, before we get too far away from John Choate, there is a story in connection with the chest owned by him, which we think rather interesting. After passing

through five generations it fell to my second cousin Agnes Choate, Mrs. Wonson, the only one of the sixth generation living in Essex the year round. She was not over keen about antiques, but she thought it a good receptacle for her blankets during the summer. So it was used for this purpose and kept in the attic. About five years ago an antique dealer came to the house. She took him to the attic and showed him the chest, telling him its age and history and associations. He looked it over carefully and said: "It is really a handsome piece of workmanship." Then he looked at her seriously and said, "Mrs. Wonson, you may not know it, but that is a valuable antique because of what you have told me and because it is in such good condition, I can't honestly offer you less than \$1500. Do you want to sell?"

Agnes almost gasped! Such a sum would be most acceptable. Then she had a qualm. Perhaps she was expected to pass it on to the next generation. He saw her hesitate and said, "I am going to one or two other houses near by, but will come back in less than an hour to learn your decision." Agnes immediately rang up the nearest of her own cousins, Susan Choate of Salem, and asked if her claim to the chest was clear. Her cousin assured her that it was. On hearing the tale Agnes told, she suggested that she confer with the only man cousin. Perhaps he would arrange to buy it, if Agnes wanted to sell. The next day Susan received a letter from her saying that the chest was gone for the dealer said he would either have to leave it or take it, as he would not be coming that way again. About a month later, my cousin in Salem had her attention called to a paragraph in the Boston Transcript: "Mr. Blank, of New York City, the well known collector of antiques has secured, through an antique dealer, the Choate chest which belonged to John Choate, the first Choate to settle in this country, and an ancestor of the famous lawyer, Rufus Choate, and the late ambassador, Joseph Choate, of another branch of the family, at a cost of \$6000!"

Toward the end of the summer, Mabel Choate, daughter of Ambassador Choate, had occasion to write to me on genealogical matters. At the end of the letter, she said:

"I am still enraged with the Essex cousins that they let the chest go out of the family. If I had known they wanted to sell it, I would have bought it for my museum." Within a year another item appeared in the newspapers: "Yesterday an auction was held of the antique collection of the late Mr. Blank, of New York City, whose death we recently noted. One of the purchases was the Choate chest which was knocked down to Miss Mabel Choate, daughter of the late ambassador to England."

To return to the Crowells. Edward Payson Crowell had two older sisters, an older brother, Washington, and a younger sister. Soon after his arrival on the scene, his Uncle David Choate and his family moved into the Choate homestead, which meant that during his boyhood he had two own boy cousins under the same roof, one two years older and one two years younger than he, with whom to play. The two Crowell boys and the two Choate boys had grand times, even if more staid than nowadays. These cousins were to Edward Crowell all his life, like brothers. Among their doings was publishing a paper once a month at the cost of one cent an issue. Edward Crowell was editor and we still have an advertisement of his cut out of the paper. "E. P. Crowell & Co. Dry goods and groceries. Essex, Mass. We now have on hand and for sale a large assortment of goods such as cotton-thread, silk, tape, pins, needles, buttons and so forth. Spices, teas, starch. Paper, pencils, wafers. Also confectionery." This was when he was twelve. When they needed more boys for any activity they would draw on the village which they did for a ball team and a debating society, debating on very ponderous subjects considering their age. His life was like that of any country boy of those days. He had many chores to do, driving the cow to and from pasture, which time he also used for practicing school declamations; feeding the pig, hoeing in the garden, hunting eggs in the hay barn, fetching water from the spring and sometimes with his cousins helping the older men load marsh hay into the wagons. But life was not all work. There was time to play ball, to swim, to occasionally row to Choate island where, in the house where his mother was born, still lived

some cousins; to linger in the fascinating shipyards, and almost best of all, to read.

He learned to swim when eleven years old. It was on this wise: Playing with his companions one day on the farther side of a small creek, the incoming tide stole a march on them and they found themselves trapped. There was nothing to do but to swim, and swim they did, and not for the last time. On another less happy occasion as he stood on the edge of a wharf, pausing before a dive, a mischievous playmate pushed him off, and he struck the water at such an angle that his breath was knocked out. Like the hero of Whittier's poem, he preferred to go bare-foot and rejoiced when even came on Sunday to bring release from the bondage of shoes. Mastery of the art of rowing came early, and the tidal river winding its three-mile course to the sea offered ample opportunity for its exercise.

When a boy of twelve, together with his brother, cousin and uncle, he was invited to visit their uncle Rufus Choate in Boston the night before the dedication of the monument at Bunker Hill. Daniel Webster was to deliver the address on this occasion. They drove to Chelsea and then went on foot by way of Charlestown to Boston. His uncle's home was on the corner of Winter and Tremont Streets. When he was 80 years old, he wrote an account of this which was published in the *Youth's Companion*:

About noon the next day, Saturday, the 17th of June, a procession was formed on the Common near the State-House, which consisted of a large military escort, a long line of carriages, and numerous civic organizations on foot. This procession marched down Park Street, and wheeling on to Tremont, passed on by the Common to Boylston and thence down Washington Street, and so on to Charlestown bridge. Thus as we looked out from the upper windows, we could plainly see in the first carriage the President of the United States, John Tyler of Virginia, and standing on a step behind the barouche, a colored man holding an umbrella over the President's head, as it was an intensely hot day. We boys could never forget the impression made upon us when we were told that the colored man was the President's slave. In the next carriage rode Daniel Webster, the orator of the occasion, and with him the governor of the commonwealth.

A number of the carriages following contained more than one hundred veterans of the Revolutionary War, some of whom had fought at Bunker Hill. Our boyish hearts were stirred as we looked intently on the worn faces of these aged soldiers, whose feebleness was so plainly visible. In the procession were many brass bands, the houses were draped with flags, and throngs of people filled the streets.

He attended his uncle's school until he was seventeen. Two years at Phillips Academy Andover, finished his preparation for college. The board furnished at the Andover Commons where the students took their meals was none too luxurious, so if a boy was lucky enough to discover an unusually tender piece of meat, it was a common practice to take a second piece and with the fork spike it to the under side of the table leaf for consumption at a future meal. At the Phillips Andover graduation, there were two dissertations of which he gave one in Greek and the other was given in Latin; two discussions, fifteen orations, two dialogues, one debate and one poem, and it is a wonder that the program did not finish the audience also. The memory of those years was cherished always. His brother, Washington, had entered Dartmouth College but died early in his course. When Edward was ready for college, the then president of Dartmouth was suspected of pro-slavery tendencies which his father could not tolerate, so Amherst was chosen. His father drove him to Salem where he took the train for Boston. Arrived at the ticket office of the Boston station, he asked for a ticket for Montague. The agent smiled at him condescendingly and said, "Son, I can't do that, for I haven't any. Wouldn't you just as soon go to Montague instead?"

The rest of the journey from Montague was made by stage coach. He roomed all four years on the campus. His class was 1853, the class which secured in its senior year a charter for a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa of which he became a member. In his junior year he joined the Alpha Delta Phi fraternity, for no boys were pledged until their junior year in those days, a much better way, I think, than the modern way, for it gave a boy a chance to know many in the class whom he might not have known, had he been herded at once into a small group. It also gave an opportunity to judge upper classmen and find

out with which group he would rather be associated. Walking was the chief exercise he took in college for there were few known sports, and he enjoyed this all his life. In cold weather he had to saw wood in the cellar and carry it up to his room. There was no central heating plant. He used to tell of the frigidity of the class rooms in Johnson Chapel, in the winter at the period between breakfast and Chapel, in other words about quarter past seven. The walls of the room still glistened with frost when the class assembled.

Fortunately the long vacation of the year came in the coldest part of the winter, for six or eight weeks. This usually began at the same time the district schools opened, for their opening was dependent on the time when the children could be spared from the farms, but their terms lasted longer than the college vacation. So any student teaching a country school had to make up three weeks or so of work by himself. But it was a good way for a student to earn money when he needed it. My father taught the district school in Oakam, near Petersham, one winter. He was at first appalled to find a room full of children ranging in age from a little girl of three who slept on top of her desk all the morning, to boys of his own age or older, but by the second day he enjoyed it, feeling challenged to see how much he could pass on in the way of education to so many pupils of such different ages, in so short a time.

His chief diversion was hearing music when he had opportunity, for he was very fond of it. At the age of 13 he began to play the flute in the church choir. We have the flute still. Occasions to hear good music in Amherst were too few but he did hear Jenny Lind when she sang in Northampton in 1851. We still have his ticket. He walked to Northampton to hear the concert but was fortunate to be offered a ride home. The next vacation he earned money to pay back what he had borrowed for the ticket.

In the early fall of 1942, two of our Choate cousins who spend their summers in Essex unearthed, or shall I say, un-atticed, some old letters and among them was one from him to his cousin David Choate who later became one of Salem's leading physicians, and from whom he bor-

rowed the money for the concert, telling about the concert. This letter they gave to us, and Anne, my sister, sent it to Mr. Dyer who published it in the February, 1943, issue of the *Graduates Quarterly*. I quote from it:

Amherst, July 4, 1851

My dear cousin David:

I heard music last night such as I never expect to listen to again in this world. I attended Jenny Lind's concert at Northampton last evening and was completely enraptured. I wish I could tell you something about it, but that is impossible. No language can express, to one who has never heard her, any adequate or true idea of the music. In some respects it is like the warbling of birds, and in others like what we might imagine that of the angels to be. Her tones are so pure, her voice has such an extraordinary compass, her singing is so melodious, so rich, so delicate, so full of emotion, that it seems as if it must be superhuman. The gracefulness of her movements, her artlessness, the intensity of emotion which she manifested in her eyes and countenance, no doubt increase the delight which the audience experiences. Now she would fill the whole house with her music; and then her tones would fall upon the ear, so soft and low, as to be hardly perceptible. In one song it sounded exactly like the warbling of birds, and in another was performed that most wonderful echo, which was perfect. The songs which she sang were "The Bird Song," "Sweet Home" — the same words and tune, with some variations, to which we have been accustomed — "Coming through the rye," and the "Echo Song," together with the solo, "I know that my Redeemer liveth," and an Italian song.

When my father was a senior in college, his Uncle Rufus Choate was to deliver the eulogy on Webster at Dartmouth College from which college both Choate and Webster were graduated. He had a friend in the senior class of Dartmouth, with whom he had chummed at Phillips Academy. To his delight this boy invited him to come to Hanover and said he would see that he got a seat although a great crowd would be present. Naturally he went for he admired his uncle greatly. His friend smuggled him into the senior ranks as if he were a Dartmouth man. The dignitaries, trustees and faculty decorously entered the White Church as it was called. The pressure of the crowd increasing, pushed the college boys right along into

the hall over the tops of the pews. But it was accomplished and the day was certainly a memorable one to him. This eulogy was said to be Choate's best oration. He was so pressed for time that he wrote the eulogy in bed at night, a lamp standing on a pile of books on the bed, another lamp in his left hand, and his pen in his right hand. I imagine those three days, the day of the dedication of the Bunker Hill monument, the day he heard Jenny Lind and the day at Dartmouth were the outstanding days of his youth.

In the spring of 1853, he learned that the building of the Amherst and Belchertown railroad was about completed, so, as he was returning from Essex, expecting to go to Springfield and Northampton, he was on the lookout when he reached Palmer. There he actually saw the new train for Amherst. He hurried out of the Albany train, ran across the tracks and asked if the train was really going to Amherst and if he might get on. The conductor replied that it was the first run, so only the Directors would be on it. He then asked if he might ride in the baggage car and after a moment's consideration, the conductor consented. He flung his bag in, climbed in and rode triumphantly to Amherst—the first passenger—with his bag for a seat. The conductor did not fail to collect a fare but he felt sure it did not go into the company treasury.

Commencement came in August and was usually a very hot time. The Commencements of long ago were much greater affairs than now. The "E'ens" of the town and those for miles around would come to spend the day. Booths were erected on the fence enclosed Common where produce was displayed, as also ice cream, confectionery, cake, lemonade and gingerbread. There were also vendors of popcorn and balloons. The exercises occupied two sessions, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. The doors to college hall were closed until the dignitaries had entered. The alumni of the college formed in procession in front of the chapel and were escorted by the body of students, headed by a brass band and the County Sheriff, halberd in hand, top hat and tailored coat, to the president's house where the president and trustees of the college, the Governor of the State and his military staff were received. The pro-

cession then went to College Hall where the students opened ranks forming two parallel lines, and the rest passed through into the hall. The students then closed ranks and followed within.

Until the building was bought by the college there was a temporary stage put in at Commencement which rested on the first rows of pews. Then the next front seats were reserved for the senior class. Each speaker, as it came his turn, passed down the centre aisle, out the front door, and around to the back of the building. He then climbed a ladder, entered a window, and, walking onto the stage, delivered his dissertation or oration. At its close he returned the way he came. The story is told of a dignified gentleman who, sitting near the edge of the platform, grew deeply interested in the speaking and, in his interest, jerked his chair every few minutes nearer the edge of the platform and finally vanished, chair and all, into one of the side seats from which he was with difficulty extricated. The crowd was sometimes so great that all could not get even standing room. Nor was it an unusual sight to see boys and girls sitting on the steps eating gingerbread. My father being salutatorian had to deliver a dissertation in Latin. There were including the Salutatory, eighteen orations and the Valedictory, besides music.

Of his friends in the class those who afterwards became best known were Ralph Parsons, M. D., who was an authority throughout New York State on diseases of the brain; Henry Boltwood, a pioneer in secondary school education, serving many years as inspector of Secondary School Education for the State of Illinois; and John M. Green, a minister who held several pastorates but became best known because, while pastor of the Congregational Church in Hatfield, he was not only pastor but friend and advisor of Sophia Smith, assisting her in her plans for founding Smith College. The valedictorian of the class would undoubtedly have been heard from in later life as he was considered very brilliant but he died in early manhood, Richard S. Storrs. After Class Supper they adjourned to the room of one of their number where they spent what was left of the night in reminiscence and talking of the future.

Edward Crowell was in college when there was no rift

between town and gown and at the college receptions for faculty and students were always to be found townspeople also. Among the latter was a woman who was uncomfortably aware of her ancestors, that is uncomfortably for other people. She accordingly liked to be considered the grand dame of the village and did her best to play this role. The undergraduates of that day were, that is the majority were, from homes of country ministers and farmers. At one of the above receptions somewhere between 1849 and 1853 the above mentioned woman was a guest and during the course of the evening a callow-looking youth was brought up and presented to her. She raised her lorgnette to appraise him more accurately and then asked in her condescending tones: "Pray, from what little town do you come?" The youth, remembering that his ancestors had fought and bled at Bunker Hill, drew himself up to his full height and smiling graciously, replied looking at her steadily, "From the little town of Boston, Madame. Did you ever hear of it?"

After graduating from college, my father taught two years in Williston Academy; was a Latin tutor at Amherst for one year, and had begun a course at Andover Theological Seminary which he never finished, for in 1858 he was called to the chair of Latin at Amherst and accepted the call, Latin for the first time being made a separate department. He completed the theological course privately; was never ordained but was licensed to preach; was one of the stated preachers at Amherst College; was frequently heard in local pulpits and in the Connecticut Valley, also going further afield. He also conducted Chapel frequently.

After the college church was dedicated, not known until a few years ago as the Stearns Church, it soon came his turn to preach. Having had some difficulty in hearing his predecessors, he waited after the morning service to walk along with Professor Esty, who occupied one of the rear pews, and inquired if he could hear him. Professor Esty had to acknowledge that he lost more of the sermon than he heard. In these days students were required to attend two services on Sunday. So, again, after the afternoon service, he sought Professor Esty and put the same question. With that Estyonian smile, repeated so perfectly in

his son Thomas, the Dean, he said: "To be frank, I think you could easily have been heard at East Street." (About a mile away.) To Professor Crowell's relief, he soon found that all speakers in the church were as unsuccessful as he, so poor are the acoustics.

My recollections of those preaching days when I was a little girl stay with me. The day I was the one chosen to accompany him to church, in some neighboring town, was a red letter day. In the first place driving on Sunday was an especial treat as Sunday driving was not indulged in except when necessary. And to be dressed in one's best bib and tucker and drive off in a buggy with one's father for companion was wonderful for he was such a busy person that such companionship was not a daily occurrence. I remember driving one lovely spring day to Sunderland, a distance which seemed a journey to a child in those days; and then sitting in the minister's pew with the minister's wife. I felt the reputation of the family was on my shoulders far more than on his sermon. I hardly dared to move during the service. Another such excursion was even more thrilling for it was to Hatfield, down Amity Street over Mt. Warner through North Hadley to the Connecticut River. There he got out of the carriage and blew the horn which hung on a tree in response to which the flat ferry boat came slowly across and we embarked on it; a voyage savoring of danger lest we fall off, as there were no sides to the ferry boat.

Professor Crowell met his wife soon after he returned to teach and they were married August 13, 1861, by her father, Rev. Aaron Warner, in the house where we have lived so long. My grandfather, Aaron Warner was the sixth in direct line from the first Warner, William, who came from Ipswich, Suffolk, England, to Ipswich, Massachusetts. The descendants of William soon moved inland and Aaron was born in Northampton, or what is now Florence. He attended Williams College, often walking home for vacation, if the horses were needed for farm work. He was graduated in the class of 1815, studied theology, held several pastorates, among them being in Medford, Massachusetts, taught in a theological school in Gilmanston, New Hampshire, and was a member of the Eng-

lish Department of Amherst College from 1844 until 1853, when he retired from teaching, continuing to preach on occasion.

One of the Class Poets who had been a pupil of Mr. Warner wrote in a reunion poem: "Warner whose silvery hair and massive face were fraught with almost apostolic grace." In 1846, he bought the Amity Street property where he made his home until his death. The house was built in 1835 for Solomon Pitkin and his wife. Mrs. Pitkin stipulated that there should be a large front hall where she could "*set and watch*" the passerby. They were the only family to occupy it except the Warners. Mrs. Warner was Mary Atwood of Bradford, Massachusetts, the fifth in direct line from Harmon Atwood, who came to Boston in 1642, from Sanderstead, Surry, England. Mary Atwood Warner, was born in Medford, Massachusetts, and when she was four, the family went to Florida for her mother's health. Mrs. Warner died and was buried in St. Augustine. In four years Aaron Warner married Anne Burns of Gilmanton. On coming to Amherst to live, Mary Warner entered the academy where, among her friends were, Emily Fowler, later Mrs. Ford, mother of Paul Ford, the novelist, Helen Fisk Hunt Jackson and Emily Dickinson. Hon. Edward Dickinson and Mrs. Dickinson and my grandfather and grandmother Warner were warm friends; they passed the friendship on to Mary Warner and the three Dickinsons, Emily, Austin and Lavinia, who, in turn, passed it on to Martha Dickinson Bianchi and my sisters and myself.

After their marriage Professor and Mrs. Crowell lived in an apartment in the centre. Here was born their first child, Edward, who lived only two weeks. Soon after, Professor Crowell built a house on Lincoln Avenue, then Lincoln Street, a little north of the Theta Delta Chi house, facing on Lincoln Avenue. His colleagues asked him why he didn't move to Hadley while he was about it? The house has long since been taken down, but the old oak which stood a little north of the front piazza, is still there. In this home the Crowells' four other children were born. When Aaron Warner died, the Amity Street home became my mother's and we moved there. My father was

an indefatigable student and from my earliest memories the study door was closed every evening while mother read aloud to us children in the living room or played games. He was either preparing for his next day's class or writing pamphlets in connection with his class work or editing text books, for he edited a great many.

His two closest friends at this time, were Richard H. Mather, professor of Greek, and an Amherst graduate two years after him, and Professor Henry H. Goodell, of the State Agricultural College, a former pupil of his who had been a frequent guest in the Warner home so that he seemed almost like one of the family. He also cherished the friendship of Austin Dickinson, treasurer of the college, who was a fraternity brother, Rev. Jonathan Jenkins, pastor of the Congregational Church and President William S. Clark, of the Agricultural College. Later among his colleagues, for colleagues come and go, he especially enjoyed Benjamin K. Emerson, Henry B. Richardson, Anson D. Morse, Levi H. Elwell and William L. Cowles, the last being his associate and successor as head of the department.

Professor Crowell believed in the dignity of the man rather than the dignity of his position and had many friends in the town. Any suggestion of a difference between town and gown was very distasteful to him. Although he was so devoted to teaching and study, he was greatly interested in town affairs and local politics. He always attended town meeting and usually took part in the discussions, being ready to further improvements for the community. In 1879, he was elected from our district to the Massachusetts House of Representatives. He was interested in obtaining adequate funds for the furtherance of the Amherst Agricultural College up to that time known as one of the Land-Grant Colleges.

In 1880 Williams College conferred upon him the degree of D. D. In 1883, he delivered the historical address at the bi-centennial celebration of the Essex Church which his father had served so long. This required painstaking accurate research which, in addition to his college work, undoubtedly hastened the development of a serious latent eye trouble. After many months of intense suffering, he

became blind. He at once sent to the trustees of the college his resignation, but they as promptly tabled it, and he was retained as Head of the Latin Department and teacher of the elective courses for juniors and seniors. If he had been indefatigable before, it might now be said that his work became his life, for he was constantly at work in study or writing pamphlets to aid in the courses. He could not have carried on had it not been for my mother. She had always had splendid health knowing not a day of sickness, and she devoted all her strength and time to him, really living his life rather than her own, the most unselfish and the most joyous person I have ever known.

After becoming blind he read the writings of many authors unfamiliar to him, such as the *Cena Trimalchionis*, selections from Boethius and the *Institutes of Justinian*. Many boys, electing this last course and going from college into the law school, came back to tell him how much help the course had been in their law studies. He wanted no pity. What he did want was to be treated as if he were not blind. He did everything for himself that he possibly could, even to locking up the house at night and shutting up the furnace. His family respected his apparent wish, but sometimes others did not. The custom of calling went out of style long ago, but I have always maintained that we are poorer because of this lack. It gave a chance for real intercourse which is not possible in the touch and go of club life. One of his chief diversions hereafter was making calls. Driving or walking with one of the family, or a colleague, gave him exercise. And always from five to six, he took a constitutional, employing for this a high school boy or one a little younger, to guide him. He was fond of boys and had the faculty of drawing them out. Hence he got much entertainment from these walks, for the boys would tell him of their sports, their scrapes, their ambitions, sometimes about their school work, and often, not about their "girl friend," (for there were no such creatures then) but, "my partner at dancing school." One youth confided that this partner would likely be a partner for longer than dancing school. If the weather was not favorable for walking, the boy would stay the hour and read aloud, sometimes a doubtful

pleasure to his hearer, because of the tortuous, if not tortured, changes in the English language. I remember one day when a lad made struggles with h-e-i-n-o-u-s, finally emerging with hyenous.

Once in a while there would be a hint or expression of some kind that showed that usually inarticulate youth realized that it took valor to live as Professor Crowell did. Another would offer to walk home with him from college for several days. Once I was sitting on the porch with my father when a big football hero came up the walk with a bunch of pink sweet peas in his hand. He himself placed them in my father's hand saying, — his cheeks as pink as the flowers — "I thought you'd like to smell these, Professor, we have a lot on our frat. grounds." In the college annual one year, the editors affixed a quotation to the name of each member of the teaching staff. The one chosen for him: "This, too the unconquerable will can bear." The 1910 college annual was pleasingly dedicated to him. Through the years of blindness the two unfailing friends were President Goodell of the Agricultural College and Professor Cowles. President Goodell was busy at the other end of the town and as the years went on, had less time to drop in, but we always knew that he was standing by; and if anything untoward happened in the home, he was right at hand to help, if he possibly could. The devotion of Professor Cowles none of the family, as well as my father, could ever forget. He thought of so many ways to be helpful, so many nice things to do. It might be the suggestion of a walk, the offer to accompany my father to some lecture on the campus; it might be dropping in at the off time of the day with some campus news my father would not be likely to hear as he was shut off from mingling with his colleagues. If adverse things happened, he was always quick to offer his aid. I cannot imagine any one more considerate and attentive than he was.

Professor Crowell was Dean of the College, 1880-1894; and edited with Professor Montague the Biographical Record, Vol. I. He also edited the Obituary Record of the Alumni, 1863-1871 and 1885-1911, and the Triennial Catalogs 1863-1875. He lectured at Smith College, 1876,

1878, 1880, and 1888. He was a member of a number of educational societies. Besides his Latin publications, he published a Memorial of Rev. Aaron Warner and the roll of graduates and non-graduates who served in the Civil War.

Five years after his wife's death, March 9, 1903, my father retired from teaching at the age of seventy-eight, having faithfully served the college for fifty years. In those days there was no age limit. At the Alumni dinner, he was given an ovation by the alumni and presented with a silver loving cup, filled with gold coin. In his speech which followed, there was at first evidence of emotion, which the expression of regard and esteem evoked, but in a few moments it had disappeared and he delighted his audience with his ready wit. What pleased him most, were the letters later passed on to him which accompanied the contributions to the gift from members of the fifty classes which he had taught. The last two years and a half of his life were spent in retirement, but in good health. On his eightieth birthday, different friends dropped in to congratulate him. He died March 25, 1911 after less than a week's illness. Some weeks afterwards, an old time friend and colleague of his called, and as he sat down he said: "I have come to talk about Professor Crowell, for I loved him."

Nothing was written down, but I have remembered through the years, the following sentiments: "Your father was the most chivalrous gentleman I have ever known, a true Chevalier of Christ. He has been spoken of lately as a gentleman of the old school, and rightly so. But I feel that this phrase must be supplemented, for it rather implies a mild personality, and mild only, which your father was not. He was virile to his finger tips as long as he lived. He had the courage of his convictions whether in town meeting or faculty meeting or in the legislature, and stood by them. He was just, always willing to give the benefit of the doubt, but if that benefit proved futile, he could be as stern as the situation demanded." President Harris alluded to him in his Easter sermon as a scholar, a man alive to the great social, political movements of the time, illuminated by the inner light

of wisdom and wit. The late Professor John M. Tyler at the College Centennial said, "You remember Professor Crowell, how he stood at his post in the darkness like the Roman sentinal at the gate of Pompeii; which did he enjoy most a fine passage in Tacitus or a good joke? He encouraged us to joke back and we invariably got the worst of it and he enjoyed our discomfiture."

These analyses have always seemed to me very fair, but there are three things that stand out in my memory: First, his generosity. No request of any kind for time, money, advice or influence, was unheeded by him and was granted, if possible. If it were not possible, he would suggest another source whence perhaps the request could be granted. Also he did not wait to offer help but somehow he saw when it was needed. As to his family, no sacrifice was too great for him if he could grant some cherished wish of any of them.

Second, his wit. Almost any alumnus of those days, if asked what he thought of as a characteristic, would reply, his humor, and it was indeed keen. Born with it, it followed him through life. The story he especially delighted to tell and which has been told often, is worth repeating. During his Deanship, before he became blind, there were no cuts and so on Monday mornings a group of boys would appear at his office to "swear off absences" from chapel the previous week or on Sunday from church. One of these Monday mornings a youth strolled nonchalantly to the desk and said, "I suppose, Professor, the monitor has given me an absence from afternoon service yesterday." The Dean looked at the monitor's list and assented. "Well, it was this way. I was strolling over the Pelham hills, one of those days when you have to be out-of-doors, you know. Before I knew it, it was mighty near church time, so I beat it, but when still a mile or so from church, I heard the bell and knew I would be so tardy that it would be called an absence. Just then I heard another bell near by, 'Church in the Valley,' you know. I thought, what difference does the church make, one is as good as another, so I slipped in and sat down at the rear."

"A very good idea, Mr. Smith," said the Dean, "I

would have done the same, I wonder who preached for them for I happen to know they are without a minister," "I don't know, didn't ask, and of course he was a stranger to me."

"Isn't it rather odd," said the Dean, leaning a little over the desk "that after two terms in my class room, you didn't recognize me across that little church?" There was one of those pin-dropping silences. Then the youth started to say something, thought better of it, and fled to the door, accompanied by the jeering laughs of the other boys. The Dean said he was not troubled by false excuses for quite a long time. He had had reason to distrust the youth and, as it also happened, he had been the preacher there that afternoon.

Third, his faith. He was possessed of a deep, undergirding faith. Having accepted the idea of God and His relationship to the human soul, he agreed with Paul, that "all things work together for good to those who love God," and proved his belief not only to the world at large, but to his family where the test is harder because of the daily and hourly intimacies. Mr Child, the artist who painted his portrait six months before his death, said, "I wanted to paint his portrait because there was no man on the college faculty whose life and character impressed me more while in college and since than his."

JOURNAL OF WILLIAM WAIT OLIVER OF SALEM, 1802-1803.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN POSSESSION OF
THE ESSEX INSTITUTE

William W. Oliver was for many years Deputy Collector of the Salem Custom House. He was the son of Hubbard and Rebecca (Wallis) Oliver, was born in Salem on December 10, 1778 and died on December 29, 1869, at the age of ninety-one years, holding the position of deputy until 1839. There were six children in the family: Gamaliel Wallis, born Feb. 14, 1772; Hubbard, born Jan. 14, 1771; John Wait, bp. Dec. 20, 1778; Rebecca born March 27, 1774, who married Stephen Thayer, May 27, 1797; Sara Swanton, born Jan. 4, 1783; and William W. When twelve years of age, Mr. Oliver went to live with Major Joseph Hiller, who was the first United States Collector in Salem, appointed by Washington, and at the age of fourteen was taken into the Custom House. His parents in early life lived in the vicinity of Aborn Street, near the present Peabody line.

When Jefferson was elected President at the turn of the century, Hiller was succeeded, in 1802, by Col. William Raymond Lee, who was of the same political faith as Jefferson, and Hiller was forced to retire. He removed to Lancaster and died in 1814. Mr. Oliver has plenty to say in the journal in regard to this change of Collectors and the political maneuvers which brought it about. While Hiller occupied the office, his nephew Charles Cleveland was in the office as Deputy Collector, and he interested the boy Oliver in arithmetic and other useful studies. In 1803, Col. Lee appointed Oliver Deputy Collector, Cleveland having resigned, which office he held for forty-six years. The transactions at the Custom House in the early part of the century were on a large scale, and it has been stated that in 1807, Mr. Oliver handled over a million dollars in the office.

The houses mentioned in the journal were nearly all on upper Essex Street. Major Hiller live in a house originally belonging to Robert Cowan, a manufacturer of lead

pencils, and said to be the first to bring into use gum copal as a varnish for carriages. This house was not far from the Friends' Cemetery. Judge Prescott, father of the historian, lived in this house after Hiller. Capt. Stephen Osborn's grocery store, often mentioned by Oliver, was two houses beyond Hiller's, and his father, Hubbard Oliver, lived a few doors beyond that in a house which stood where John H. Silsbee later built his house. Oliver's mother kept a school there for young children.

Oliver married in Charlestown, on October 31, 1805, Sarah Gardner, who was born on July 12, 1786 and died on March 29, 1838. She was the daughter of Abel Gardner, who lived in the house on Broad Street now numbered 36. In 1804, he moved to Charlestown, later to Chelsea, where he was toll-gatherer at the Chelsea bridge. He sold his house to Oliver just before his marriage with his daughter. Mr. and Mrs. Oliver had two children: William Gardner, who died unmarried; Hannah Newhall, born Sept. 9, 1813; married John B. Knight in 1835, and died on Jan. 27, 1846.¹

Oliver belonged to the Social Library and was a constant reader of history, biography and travel. He often went to some length in the journal in quotations from the books which he read, and made comments thereupon. He took long walks, especially to Marblehead beaches and the Salem turnpike, which latter was, at this time, being constructed.

June 18, 1802. After leaving the office in the afternoon walk'd with James King Jr. to the turnpike. Eve. walked to Pool's. on return stopped at Mr. O's corner — spent $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour agreeably in company with Capt. Ives. To bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ 9.

Saturday, June 19. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5. Wind S. E. rather cool — spent the morning setting bean poles, sowing beans & cutting up sods. Afternoon, at 3 O'clock in company with E. Bowditch & S. Lang, set out for Phillips beach, thro' the pastures — got there at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4. Capt. Clemmons & Hooper, of Marblehead, were there. After get-

¹ See E. I. Hist. Coll. vol. 21, p. 212; vol. 67, p. 274.

ting a little refreshed, went down on the rocks and caught some fish — had them cook'd — drank coffee at 7 — spent the time agreeably — started for home at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 7 — came the road thro' South fields — stopped at Mr Mc Vayes — home & to bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9.

Sunday, 20. Rose at 7. Wind S. W. spent the forenoon at home, showery for a few moments. Afternoon to meeting; Dr. Barnard, text Pslam 8v. after meeting, went to the turnpike. Eve. walk'd to Pool's; after being a little refreshed, went down to the river & washed my feet. To bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9.

Monday, 21. Rose at $\frac{1}{4}$ before 7. Wind very variable thro'out the day. After breakfast, work'd an hour & a half planting corn, took cold, which came on at noon; at night walk'd round being very shivery, came directly home drank about a gill of (torn) went to bed, thinking after a night's rest I should feel better but there was no rest for me; my eyes smarted to such a degree I could hardly close them — head ached severely — limbs very sore, & a tedious cold in my head. I got up 4 times in the night to look at my watch; intending to go below as soon as it was day to take something to make me sleep — at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 went down, got a wine glass of Raw Rum, mollified it with Sugar & drank the whole of it, a rash medicine indeed, I thought it would burn my insides up, — went to bed again at 4 & rested comfortable till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6. Mrs. Thayer & Oliver went to Marblehead. Stephen, Jr., broke out with the Measles.

Tuesday, 22. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6. Wind S. W. very unwell all day — much favored on account of business having little to do. Eve went down to Mr. Kimballs shop. To bed at 9. had a good nights rest.

Wednesday, 23. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5. Wind S. W. very weak, head & eyes ach'd very considerably — walk'd upon the hills before breakfast — very warm but a fine air. Eve walk'd to the turnpike. To bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8.

Thursday, 24. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5. Wind S. E. disagreeable day. Mrs. Thayer return'd from Mhd. Eve. light rain. To bed at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 8.

Friday, June 25. Rose at 7. Wind E. raw, disagreeable day; very unwell, cold renewed with great violence; at

night took a bowl of sage tea & to bed at 8 — rested very poorly.

Saturday, June 26. Rose at 2. Wind N. E. went below kindled a fire, & lay upon the floor with my wrapper & shoes on, with my feet to the fire; rested very easy, but did not get any sleep. Stephen very unwell. short breath'd & much inclined to drowse. Disagreeable day, very thick air. Returned into the Library, 1 & 2 Vol. Fitzgerald's Preceptor & 13 & 14 Vol. Mavor's Collection. Took out 2 & 9 Mavors — 1st A. Museum & 1st Johnson's lives of the Poets. Afternoon, went to the turnpike, very unwell; Mr. Hiller, returned from Connecticut. To bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9. had a good night's rest.

Sunday, June 27. Rose at 6. Wind S. E. Spent the day at home — read 400 pages of the 1st vol. of Johnson's lives of the Poets; & the book of Solomon's Songs, with the Explanations & Reflections. Mr Thayer sick & Stephen very bad; considerable company in; Mr B. Thayer & sister Sally, watched with Stephen. To bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 — rested very well.

Monday, 28. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5. Wind N. disagreeable day; wind varied to S. E. Stephen considerable better — Read 60 pages of Johnson's Journey to the Hebrides, entertaining but not variety enough. Eve. went to Mr. O's. store. To bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9. Betsey Eldridge watched with Stephen.

Tuesday, 29. Rose at 6. Wind S. E. cold rain — very disagreeable. Stephen worse considerably. Read 80 pages of Johnson's Journey. to bed at 9. Slept well. Mr. Hiller went to Boston.

Wednesday, 30. Rose at 5. Wind S. E. overcast, cold, disagreeable day — finished reading Johnson's Journey to the Hebrides. He generally praises the hospitality of the people, but laments bitterly the want of trees; and in many other things, thinks they are far behind the British. It is natural for to think ones own country the best in the world, and it is absolutely necessary it should be so, for the happiness of society, for we are but restless mortals at best. Mrs. Richards & myself set up with Stephen — he rested very well.

Thursday, July 1. I lay down at 5 & slept till 20 min-

utes past 7 — Wind S. W. beautiful day, but quite cool morning. Read Twiss's Tour in Ireland. not much entertained. To bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8.

Previous to retiring to rest set out to walk to Pool's, on the plains met Mr. Wallis, not feeling very bright returned with him and came to directly home. Sally set up with Stephen, who had a restless night.

Friday, July 2. Rose at 6. Wind, W. beautiful morning, very serene air.

Saturday, 3. Rose at 7. Wind W. clear air & warm. Spent the afternoon at home, read Bray's tour through some of the midland Counties in England. Not very entertaining, tho' well written; . . . Evening, walk'd to Pool's which I had not done before for 13 days owing to my cold. To bed at 10. Mrs. Thayer & Sally watch'd with the (torn)

Sunday, July 4. Rose at 7. Wind N. E. raw, cold. To meeting alone in the Pew all day — Forenoon Dr. Barnard had a Sermon adapted to the day — quite prolix — did not like him over much. Afternoon, text — "Destitute of the Truth" pritty clever discourse. Read the book of Esther & 20 Chapters of the book of Job. Haman met his deserts & Mordacai triumphed. Job's friends, were friends of affliction, and continually wounded him. About 7, in the afternoon, Mrs. Thayer called me to look at the child — she thought he was about paying the debt of nature; I went and looked upon him — he turned round, looked very expressively on all in the room, and rolled up his eyes — drew up his legs — seemed in great distress, and fell away gradually — after a short time came to again and was as easy as he had been for a number of days preceeding. To bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10. Mrs. Johnson set up with the child, he had restless night, but seemed much better in the morning.

Monday, July 5. Rose at 4. Wind N. E. disagreeably cold, set down an hour with the child — walk'd upon the hills and directly home again — the office not being open spent the day at home — Read the 4 first books of Young's Night Thoughts. This good man, lived 86 years, and came to his grave like a shock of corn fully ripe. Eve walk'd to Pool's & directly back — To bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10.

Mrs. Meek set up with child. He had a very restless night.

Tuesday, 6. Rose at 6. Wind S. E. cold, disagreeable day. Eve walk'd to Pool's & directly back. Betsey Eldridge & myself set up with the Child. He was very restless & seemed in much [pain?] till 12 O'clock. after that from extreme weakness, he seemed more easy. Read Young's Night Thoughts &c.

Wednesday, 7. At 5 O'clock. Went up to the turnpike, the people were just turning out to work. Wind S. E. and very cold. I lay down an hour, after dinner. In the afternoon S. Lang came for me to go to Phillip's Beach with him in the morning; went with him to his Father's & from thence home — to bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9. Mrs. Eldridge set up with the child.

Thursday, 8. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3. Wind S. E. and very foggy, went & call'd my friend Saml Lang & we started from his Father's a few minutes past 4 — got to the beach at 5 — the sun rose clear & was very pleasant — went down to the beach, push'd off a boat & caught about 5 dozen cunners — while fishing it came up very foggy again — an immense number of mackeril pass'd us; I should judge from appearance, not less than 500 barrels. Had coffee at 9 & started for home came Mhd road. had an exceeding agreeable time got home at 10. Stephen died at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 1, & from the very distressing manner had languished for a number of days, I was happy to see him die — fully sensible he left this transitory scene for Worlds beyond the Grave, where pain or trouble can never come. Eve. went up to Nancy's. Had news of William Cook's being lost at sea from on board the Brig Favorite. B. Henderson, master. He was 23 years old. To bed at 10 O'clock.

Friday, July 9. Rose at 6. Wind S. E. overcast. cool, disagreeable morning. At noon very warm — Ther. at 90. Stephen buried. Eve. walk'd to Pools. very cool — from Pool's went down to Mrs. Russell's where I spent the Eve. When I came home it was exceeding pleasant. To bed at 10.

Saturday, 10. Rose at 4. Wind W. uncommonly cool for the Season, went below, put some fire together, sat

down & found it very comfortable. At 5 walk'd upon the hills, round into Federal street & directly home — read Young's Night Thoughts — the Consolation. At 8 O'clock went for Doctor Torry, to come & see Mrs. Clifton's child, which was very sick. Afternoon, intended to have go to Phillip's beach, but was disappointed of company & I spent the afternoon at home — Gamalial over from Lynn. Eve. went for Dr. T. again, who came & put a blister upon the child's breast. Beautiful eve. to bed at 10.

Sunday, 11. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6. Wind W. beautiful morning, very mild, clear air. Read the book of Nehemiah. Dr. Prince officiated in the Forenoon and gave an excellent Discourse from Luke 10 C. 42 Ver. "But one thing is needful; And Mary hath chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her." Martha, her sister being busily employed in secular affairs, wishes Mary to assist her, and make application accordingly; when our Lord replies in the words of the text. Afternoon, Mr. Dana of Mhd. officiated: Text Genesis, Chap. 1. V. 27. "God created Man in his own image." The argument was the apostacy of Man, and his observations, such as Divines generally use, & on the whole he made a good piece of work. He is a young man of great piety, & his expressions seem to come from the heart. Eve walk'd to Osgood's with Mr. Morgan, who came to see me just before night. Eve. went to Sally Pope's with sister Sally, just before we got there it rain'd very hard. My parents spent the eve. at our house. To bed at 10. Quite rainy night.

Monday, 12. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6. Wind variable from N. W. to S. E. disagreeable day, & disagreeable news — Capt. J. Lindsay arrived from the Havana, & bro't accounts of its being very sickly there. Capt. Edmund Upton, of this port, lost all his fore-mast hands, & all the rest of his crew sick — among the number that died was Daniel Procter, a worthy young man, who has left aged parents & beloved sisters to mourn his loss. Seventy three was said to be buried in one day from the Hospital. Capt. L. lost his mate, & left a number of his people sick at the Havana.

Eve. walk'd to Pool's. home & to bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9.

Tuesday, July 13. Rose at $1\frac{1}{2}$ past 6. Wind S. E. Every day brings forth something new, either joyous or grievous. This day, the *Belisarius*, J. Skerry jr. master, arrived from Sumatra and Isle de France. 120 days from the former place. The anxiety of friends for friends in this ship for some days had been great, but were now pleasingly relieved by the glad tidings that they have all returned alive & well, after an absense of $10\frac{1}{2}$ months, being 19 in number. Capt. Skerry brought news of the Brig *William*, Felt, and Ship *Henry*, Barton, Capt. Barton, had lost his mate, with sickness, his name, John Gray; this was melancholy news for a widowed mother to receive — but we are born to affliction, & all have in a greater or less degree. Eve walk'd to Pool's — stopp'd at Osborn's corner on my return — home at $1\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 & to bed at 10 — After dinner, walk'd up to the turn pike.

Wednesday, July 14. Rose at 5. Wind S. E. at noon S. W. very cool morning, but warm the after part of the day. B. & S Thayer, & Oliver T. set out for New Salem, this morning. Read Common Sense, 4 Essays written by Thos Paine; . . . at the time he was in this Country he was much courted; but now matters are changed, he is stigmatized as an Atheist; a drunkard, a debaucher &c. Though I can not myself admire this mans conduct I cannot approve of the many frivolous assertions thrown out against him, by those who have no other charge to bring against him than his principles, because I suppose they are the same as when he was in this Country & wrote "Common Sense."

Afternoon, read Bligh's Voyage to the South Sea for the purpose of procuring the Bread fruit tree, for the West Indies. On the 23rd day of December 1787, the *Bounty* (that was the name of the ship) sailed from Spithead. Nothing remarkable happened till her arrival at Otaheite. . . . The mutineers are not mentioned as ever being heard of. Their object in mutining was supposed to be from a desire of remaining among the natives.

The Militia Officers met to Exercise this afternoon & paraded in front of our house. Mrs Ireland & Mrs. Flanders, spent the afternoon with Mrs. Thayer. Eve. walk'd to Pool's, very warm & dusty. on my return stopp'd at

Mr O's. corner a few moments. Spent the evening agreeably at Mr J. Cross's junr. To bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10.

Thursday, 15. Rose at 5. Wind S. W. warm & pleasant, went to the Fish market at town bridge & got a peice of Halibut, which was excellent. Read a number of fugitive peices in the American Museum, many of which were well written. Mrs. Thayer spent the afternoon at our house. Eve. walk'd to Pool's, & intended to have gone to bathe, but it was very cool. came directly home, & to bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8. My parents spent the eve. at our house. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10, I awoke & saw Mrs. Thayer, setting on my bed; I ask'd her why she sat there. She had been in to see Mrs. Clifton's child, which was thought to be a dying, & she could not bear to look upon it, it made her think so of Stephen. I got up, put on my trousers & wrapper & set down to the window. Miss Mary Pitman & my sister Sally, came through my chamber & informed that the child died at 12 O'clock. I then lay down & went to sleep.

Friday, 16. Rose at 5. Wind S. W. a beautiful morning & fine air. Ketch *Three Friends*, James Stuart, master, arrived from the Isle of France. Read an Epitome of Macartney's Embassy to China. . . . Mr. Clifton's child buried; Doctor Barnard prayed. Eve. walk'd to Pool's, to bed at 10.

Saturday, 17. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6. Wind N. E. Overcast & cool. Ship *Concord*, Obed Wyer, master, arrived from Canton, 140 days passage. This ship sailed from this port in October 1799 on a sealing voyage and has been very successful. Afternoon, went up to the turn pike, played at the bowling alley—spent the time agreeably—after coffee, walk'd round the square, thro' Federal Street & directly home. to bed at 8 O'clock.

Sunday, 18. Rose at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 6. Wind S. E. & warm. Noon, wind S. W. Doctor Barnard, officiated & gave two good Moral Discourses. After dinner walk'd round the shore into the great pasture. Eve. walk'd to Pool's; from thence down to Mr. Hodgkins's & came (torn) with my sister Sally. Mr. Abel Gardner, spent the eve. at our house.

Monday, 19. Rose at 5. Wind N. W. to N., cool, over-

cast & a little rain. Morning hoed my beans. Eve. walk'd to Pool's. To bed at 10.

Tuesday, 20. Rose at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 5. Wind S. E. & warm. Eve. walk'd to Pool's, on my return met C. B. Seccombs, & we agreed to sleep together & go to Phillips's beach in the morning. To bed at 10.

Wednesday, 21. Rose at 3. Wind S. W. went thro' the pastures, out by Col. Pickmans farm & over Legges hill, got to the beach at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4—went down to the rocks each with a pole & line to fish, but without bait. when we got upon the rocks we search'd them thoroughly but could not find any clams. returned to the house & obtained some salted bait, with it, C. B. S. set out again & I remained at the house to inform the women, when up, that we should be back to coffee at 7—and then went down to the rocks again—the fish did not relish salt provisions, for that reason we returned to the house sooner than we expected—got breakfast at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6 and started for home. It was now quite warm—stopped and eat some berries, they were very plenty, but hardly ripe—came the road—had a very pleasant time—got home at 8. Mr. Morgan, call'd at the office, forenoon, was going to Marblehead at 12. Eve. spent the eve. at Mr. O's. corner. To bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9.

Thursday, 22. Rose at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 5. Wind S. W. went the brick-kiln. Eve. walk'd to Pool's—on return stopped in conversation with Robert Osborne about an hour—spent the time very agreeably. Polly & Sally Austin spent the afternoon at our house. I went to Mr. Hiller's house and eat some currants. All the folks excepting Mrs. Lang, being in the garden. I spent 15 or 20 minutes very agreeably. Our conversation was the Education of children. Home soon after 9—sat down & read a little time, & to bed at 10.

Friday, 23. Rose at 6. Wind S. W. beautiful morning, very clear air. Samuel Lang & James Kimball, went to Phillips's Beach. Warmest day this summer. Eve. went to North river to bath, in company with James Kimball & C. B. Seccomb. Capt. Ives, H. & W. Osborne & A. Chase were also there. I swam over the river; it being the first time of my going into water for the season was rather weary.—My parents spent the eve. at our house.

After taking about a pint of cool beverage, at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 retired to rest.

Saturday, 24. Rose at $\frac{1}{4}$ before 5. Wind N. W. Took a walk to the turn pike. Overcast and sultry morning. Ship *Margaret*, Geo. Cleveland, master, sailed for Trieste. Noon, returned to the Library, 2d & 9th volumes of Mavor's col. 1st vol. A. Museum, & 1st vol. Johnson's Lives of the Poets. took out 8th & 11th of Mavor's collection. 3d Vol. A. Museum, & the 2d vol. Johnson's L. of Poets. Soon after I got to the Library, it began to Thunder & lightning. the thunder was very heavy, attended with copious rain. The rain struck with such force upon Mr. Barr's sand house, that it rebounded & streemed for near 20 feet, in one steady column, like smoke from a chimney, which made a beautiful appearance. Not having had any rain for some time, and not any thunder for the season, it was very refreshing to the earth & to human nature. It rain'd about 40 minutes, steady, and by intervals all the afternoon. I promised Mr. Russell my company with him to Marblehead, this afternoon, and I would meet him at Mr. Baldwin's shop at 2 O'clock. the rain detaining me at the Library till near that time, & then having to eat dinner and get my hair tied, I could not fulfil my promise, but appeared there at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 3. Mr. R. had been there but was gone; I stayed there an hour and a quarter, & then came home, read a few fugitive peices in the A. Museum & after coffee, went over into Essex street, and got some whortle berries to make a pudding on Sunday, in which I fortunately succeeded. Eve. walk'd to Pool's & back to Mr. O's. corner, stopped there a few moments—came home & to bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8. Noon, wind E. soon after changed to S. & S. W.

Sunday, 25. Rose at $\frac{1}{4}$ before 5. Wind S. W. & very warm. rain'd considerable in the night & some since I rose. To meeting in the forenoon. Dr. Barnard officiated. After dinner Mr. Russell came to my lodgings & we agreed to go to Marblehead.—rather warm, but the dust being well laid, made it quite pleasant. got there at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2—went to church—on our return, met Mr. J. Thayer; I left Mr. R. and went with Mr. T. with whom I drank coffee. at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 7, left Mr. T's in company with

him, in pursuit of Mr. R. who, was at his Uncle Bowers's, when we got there Mr. R. informed me Mr. Morgan, had been to see me; I now being late could not go to see Mr. M. which I was sorry for. We started for home, & Mr. Thayer came about a mile with us, & we parted in friendship—each for home, the resort of all, an earthly home—in hopes finally! to meet together in the regions above.—Marblehead, from the unevenness of the land, makes a very novel appearance, & by the help of money, great improvements might be made. We had a very agreeable time, & an exceeding pleasant walk home. To bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9.

Monday, July 26. Rose at 6. Wind S. W. & warm. Read a few pages of Sparmann's voyage to Cape G. Hope & round the World. . . .

Tuesday, 27. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4. Wind S. E. And very foggy. Read 40 pages of The Reign of Geo. the Third . . . Ship *Henry*, Capt. Barton, arrived from Batavia. Mr. Harrison spent the day at our house. Eve. walk'd to the turnpike—played at the boling alley, about an hour—came down to Mr. O's. corner spent an hour there, in company with Capt. Ives & others—spent the time agreeably—home, and to bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9.

Wednesday, July 28. Rose at $\frac{1}{4}$ before 6. Wind S. and very foggy. Spent the morning reading & writing. Ship *Concord* & Cargo, sold at Auction. Sales very good. Eve. walk'd to the turnpike, as far as D. Pickering's. boling green—came home in company with Mr. Edmund Johnson, stopp'd at Mr. O's. corner till 9—to bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9—very heavy dew.

Thursday, 29. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5. Wind S. E. foggy, disagreeable morning. Eve. walked to Pool's in company with James Kimball, on our return, stopp'd at the Fish market, near an hour to get a Mackarel—behold when the boat got up I was disappointed. To bed at 10. Very foggy.

Friday, 30. Rose at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 5. Wind S. E. disagreeable morning—went to the Fish market, got 2 mackarel, had one broil'd with coffee; not very good. After coffee in the afternoon, work'd two hours hoeing corn. To Mr. O's. corner half an hour, got 3 lemons, came home—made some beverage, & to bed at 9—foggy disagreeable weather.

Saturday, 31. Rose at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 5. Wind S. W. and

pleasant. Ketch *Three Friends*, Capt. Jas. Stewart, sailed for Havre de Grace, with whom went Dudley L. Pickman, an amiable young man. Wind flattering from S. W. to S. E. at night at W. Afternoon, went to the turn pike, at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4, Mr. Knight came up; in company with him I went to the Great Swamp; had a very agreeable time; got home at 7. Mrs. Thayer, being gone, I got coffee, which I drank with a good relish, my walk having created considerable of an appetite. Went over to Mr. O's. corner, a few moments, came home & to bed at 9 O'clock.

Sunday, Aug. 1. Rose at 7. Wind W. and exceeding warm. Before breakfast, walk'd down the Hathorne field, up round the shore & out in the great pasture. Mr. (blank) officiated for Dr. Barnard, in the morning. Text Psalm 16.7 & Dr. B. officiated himself in the afternoon, and gave an excellent discourse from Psalm 101.V.I. Mr. Morgan was at meeting in the afternoon; could not have much of his company, he intending to return to Marblehead, directly after Tea. Mr. Osborne & Wife spent the day at our house. Eve. walk'd thro' Danvers to Peter's mills & round the shore thro' Northfields over Fry's Mill bridge & home. At 8 O'clock the clouds gather'd from all quarters, & there was some appearance of a shower, but they passed off without weeping—altho' there was considerable lightning attended with distant Thunder. A schooner and a sloop arrived from the West Indies. To bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9.

Monday, 2. Rose at 6. Wind W. Cool & rainy. Eve. at Mr. O's. store till 9. came home & read Raynal's History of the Indies, till 10 & then to bed.

Tuesday, 3. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5. Wind N. E. & cool. Morn. read 50 pages of Raynal's History, which I found very interesting. . . . Noon, read about 40 pages of R's history. Mrs. Thayer & Sally went up to Nancy's—I drank coffee alone, & at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6 went to work in my field, hoeing, till 45 minutes past 8—went home, washed & down to Mr. O's. corner—at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 in company with James Kimball, walk'd thro' North Fields, over North bridge & home at 9—To bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9.

Wednesday, 4th. Rose at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 5. Wind N. at noon, I worked in the field an hour & a half before breakfast. Eve. walk'd to Pool's—to bed at 9.

Thursday, 5. Rose at 6. Wind S. E. work'd in the field till $1\frac{1}{2}$ past 7. The Boston Commercial Gazette announced that Tom Jefferson, the Negro President, had made a number of removals, and appointed others to succeed, among the number William R. Lee of Marblehead, to be collector for the District of Salem & Beverly—quite a compliment to the Salem Mercantile Interest, that they must have a collector from another town; which cannot be accounted for any other way, than this that the President's brain (if any he had for certain it is, he cant have much now) is so adled by the teizing of office seekers—the interception of Genevian Renegados, & the croaking of Irish Patriots, scape-gallowesses & Raggamuffins—that poor soul he did not know what he was about. Although I pittty him for his weakness, it makes me smile when I think what a miserable pack of subordinates he has. Albert Gallatin—but stop! short characters sufficient—"Only dis once."—John Steele, a complete Hog, perhaps not without bristles. The other characters I shall not comment upon, except that of Joseph Nurse, Register of the Treasury, a gentleman without guile. O Tom! Tom Jefferson, if you should live to see the fourth of March 1805 and the Government & Country not annihilated, your Phisiognamy, will, I expect, resemble that of a horses head more than any thing else—And, as for A. G.—J. S. & a few others of the cast (pardon me, for only using the initials, for such filthy names, I do not wish to draw at full length oftener that can be helpt) will run about like revenous Wolfs seeking whom they may devour, but stop one moment I am fearful I am going too fast. Who? pray tell me who would succeed the rabble, now possessing the reins of Government; For men of the first talents & virtue would be wanted, & four years would hardly be sufficient to buildup what had been pull'd down for the four years preceeding. O, Fellow Citizens! let them go on in the works of darkness, for their Father, the D—l the Prince of Darkness, will have them all in toe, in good time. Eve. went to the turnpike—to bed at 9.

(To be continued)

NAMESAKE TOWNS OF OUR ESSEX COUNTY

BY ALLAN FORBES

For various reasons it seemed advisable to divide the rest of the material on namesake towns of Essex County into two parts, with the fourth and final chapter to appear in the July number of this magazine.

It has been called to my attention that through an error Rowley Regis was featured in the map of England which appeared at the start of the first article on namesake towns, published in October, 1944. Rowley, Massachusetts did not derive its name from Rowley Regis, but from Rowley in the East Riding of Yorkshire where the Rev. Ezekiel Rogers, the founder of our Rowley, had been parson prior to his emigration to New England.

For assistance in making this part possible I wish to thank Edward D. Brown, Mrs. E. B. Cole, Miss Mary Curtis, Herbert G. Fairfield, Miss Mary Jane Kelley, Mrs. John J. Kelley, Hon. Charles I. Pettingell, Mrs. George W. Pettengill, J. Lee Potter and John A. Tuckerman.

As in the previous chapters, I have been helped greatly on this one by Ralph M. Eastman, Miss Katherine G. Rogers and members of the staff of the Boston Public Library.

SALISBURY

"Ta-ra-ra-boom-de-ay" was played on all the hurdy gurdies and hummed by everyone all over London during the 1890's, and strange to relate, the person who introduced this very popular air into England was a girl from Salisbury, Massachusetts, called Lottie Collins. I can still hear it as it was sung and played on all the streets and in the restaurants of London when I visited there in my 'teens. She gained her fame by starting this tune while entertaining in London, and soon it trailed back to her native land and town. A cousin of hers states that she acted in this country in "One Night in Chinatown" and other plays, as well as appearing on the stage in England. She



Kindness of Miss Mary Jane Kelley

SALISBURY CATHEDRAL, SALISBURY, ENGLAND

Salisbury is the capital of Wiltshire.

evidently was a singer and actress and also wrote songs. Her stage name was Dolly Fox. My informant wrote that she married a man called Waterman, who was pretty much unknown after her death, as she expressed it. A tableau in the Tercentenary of 1938 showed Lottie Collins.

Although this song has been remembered for these fifty or so years, the beautiful Salisbury Cathedral, of which the English town is so justly proud, will outlast it for many thousands of years! This Cathedral, going back as far as 1220, is considered to be one of the finest examples of early English architecture. The construction is curious as described in these verses:

As many days as in one year there be,
So many windows in this church you see;
So many marble pillars here appear
As there are hours throughout the fleeting year;
As many gates as moons one here may view,
Strange tale to tell, yet not more strange than true.

An Englishman, a Lieutenant in the Royal Navy, while visiting us recalled a story told him. Constable, the celebrated painter of scenes in Essex and nearby counties in England, made a painting of Salisbury Cathedral and to add to the effect introduced a reddish rainbow in the background. A resident of Old Salisbury, owner of the picture, showed it to his huntsman one day and inquired of him how he liked it. His only remark was that the rainbow indicated that it would be a bad day for hunting as there would be no scent.

Several paragraphs relating to the history of the English Salisbury are copied from "Towns of New England and Old England, Ireland and Scotland:"

Queen Elizabeth, while on her way to Bristol in 1574, stopped at Salisbury, and here, too, James I frequently came for retreat. When being taken in captivity and to eventual death in London, Sir Walter Raleigh, on reaching Salisbury, feigned madness and leprosy that he might gain an opportunity to write his immortal "Apology for the Voyage to Guiana." There King James found him and ordered his immediate removal to London. Charles I also came to Salisbury many times.

It was at the King's Arms, still standing, that the support-

ers of Charles II were accustomed to gather when the monarch was in hiding at Heale House. A part of the Old George Inn was built about 1320. It was known in the early days as "Ye Grate Inne of Ye George," and it is said that Shakespeare may have played in the courtyard. Oliver Cromwell slept in the Inn in October, 1645, and the indefatigable Samuel Pepys refers to it in his diary in these words: "Came to the George Inn where lay in a silk-bed and a very good diet."

Nor should the literary associations of the old city be forgotten. There appeared the first edition of Goldsmith's "Vicar of Wakefield" and, in the house still standing near St. Anne's Gate, Fielding lived for some time and there wrote a portion of "Tom Jones." The original Thwackum of the novel was one Hele, who was then master of a school in Salisbury, where Addison received his education "after starting life as such a frail infant that he had to be baptised on the day he was born." Anthony Trollope also laid the scenes of some of his novels there.

The town is situated at the junction of the Avon and the Wylye, and is the capital of Wiltshire.

As early as 1641 the first Pastor of Salisbury, Massachusetts, Rev. William Worcester, conceived the idea of procuring a bell for the Salisbury Meeting House and it was hung during the following year. In those days the sermons in New England were so very long that someone composed these amusing lines:

No warning clock prescribed the preacher's powers,
The simple sand-glass told the passing hours,
Which, when the tell-tale sand its course had run
Was deftly turned, and sixteenthly begun:
For they preached sermons countless in deductions,
None of our modern half-hour productions,
In continuity they excelled, 'tis true;
Always an hour in length and sometimes two!

Worcester was educated at Oxford and lived in Salisbury, England, before coming to Massachusetts. Another person to hail from the English town was Christopher Batt, a tanner, who introduced the tannery business into the town. It was due to these two men, especially the latter, that the town was given its present name in 1640. It was first called Merrimack and then Colchester. Batt was the



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Kindness of
Mrs. George W. Pettengill

PARISHIONERS OF SALISBURY, MASSACHUSETTS, REENACT A SCENE OF THREE
HUNDRED YEARS AGO, DURING THE TOWN'S TERCENTENARY CELEBRATION

The tithing-man awakens a pretending slumberer, Mrs. George W. Pettengill, who has helped the
writer in preparing this article.

wealthiest resident and was one of the twelve original grantees, who are said to have come not on account of being oppressed, or for any religious motive, but merely to make a livelihood and for a desire to become possessed of large tracts of land. It has been said they were particularly well educated. It was indeed a change to leave the Cathedral town with its old and attractive buildings for the rude life and hardships of New England and the rude meeting houses here must have made a great contrast to the Cathedral in Old Salisbury. Four of the pioneer families still reside on the property allotted to their forbears.

Robert Pike of Longford, England, was the most prominent citizen of the Massachusetts Salisbury during the last part of the seventeenth century and would have been the most prominent even if he had not defied the law, thereby inducing Whittier to compile some verses relative to the incident. A warrant was issued by Major Waldron of Dover ordering three Quaker women to be whipped in each place where there was a court. When they arrived in Salisbury the constable did not dare carry out the order until he had interviewed Major Pike. When the order was read to him he cried out, "Loose them and let them go," and so they were saved further persecution. A few of Whittier's stanzas tell the story, under the title of "How the Women Went from Dover:"

.....
 By the meeting-house in Salisbury town,
 The sufferers stood, in the red sundown,
 Bare for the lash! O pitying Night,
 Drop swift thy curtain and hide the sight!

With shame in his eye and wrath on his lip
 The Salisbury constable dropped his whip.
 "This warrant means murder foul and red;
 Cursed is he who serves it," he said.

"Show me the order, and meanwhile strike
 A blow at your peril!" said Justice Pike.
 Of all the rulers the land possessed,
 Wisest and boldest was he the best.

.....

He read the warrant: "These convey
 From our precincts; at every town on the way
 Give each ten lashes." "God judge the brute!
 I tread his order under my foot!

"Cut loose these poor ones and let them go;
 Come what will of it, all men shall know
 No warrant is good, though backed by the Crown,
 For whipping women in Salisbury town."

At the time of the Massachusetts Tercentenary on July 16, 1930, the complete seven verses were printed.

The 1938 town celebration took place during August, and on the cover of the program appears a reproduction of the boulder in Salisbury Square upon which is chiselled the seventh verse, and above are depicted the women walking behind a cart drawn by a yoke of oxen. A scene in the pageant during the celebration shows Robert Pike and the Quakers. This boulder and tablet were donated by one of the Pike family and are placed near the spot where the meeting house, garrison house, court house and training ground were situated. A well was dug nearby by permission of the King of England.

There is another story told about Pike on his voyage to this country with his father. He was only twenty-two years of age, but evidently very strong. He told the captain one day that he wasn't getting enough to eat, whereupon the captain inquired of him why he should have more than anyone else on board. In reply and as an explanation he took up an iron bar, turned it double and then back again over his knee. The Captain said, "Very well, you shall have double rations."

The 1938 pageant was written by Mrs. Abbie Morrill Dearborn, formerly of Salisbury, who is descended from fifteen of the sixty pioneers who settled the town in 1638, including Rev. William Worcester, the first school teacher, Thomas Bradbury and Robert Pike. She most assuredly must have been imbued with the inspiration to re-enact the spirit of these early settlers. Nor did the writer forget to introduce into the pageant the episode of the wedding of Abigail Eastman and Ebenezer Webster, the parents of Daniel Webster.



Kindness of Mrs. George W. Pettengill

INTERIOR OF ST. MARTIN'S CHURCH, SALISBURY, ENGLAND

There have been a few interchanges between the two Salisburys. Mrs. G. W. Pettengill, Librarian of the Public Library, invited the Mayor of the English town to visit here at the time of the Massachusetts Tercentenary. Mayor Medway was unable to accept, but he sent his best wishes and called attention to the fact that Amesbury and Salisbury in his country are close together, as they are in Massachusetts. The English Mayor sent over three prints, now in the library here, showing views of St. Martin's Church, and also a photograph of special interest to us here, showing the original home of Christopher Batt, so important in the history of our Salisbury.

During the summer of 1939 Miss Mary Jane Kelley, whose mother was a Pike, a direct descendant of the Major, accompanied by Miss Scheibe, visited the Mayor of Salisbury, England, William C. Bridge, and was entertained by him. In a letter to Mrs. G. W. Pettengill he acknowledged their visit and said that his family showed them some of the interesting places in his Old World City.

Salisbury Plain in England has always been a great training centre for soldiers, and here in our Salisbury there is also a stretch of land with the same name, known also as Batt's Plain, as Christopher owned much land in the vicinity.

There is a Salisbury in Southern Rhodesia and in New Brunswick and several in the United States, including the New England States of Connecticut, New Hampshire and Vermont.

AMESBURY

Whittier who moved from Haverhill to Amesbury has given us in one of his letters one of the few sketches I have seen of the English Amesbury, and therefore it may be well to quote it verbatim:

"Amesbury derives its name from Amesbury or Ambresberry in Wilts, England, on Salisbury plain, and near the great Druidical temple of Stonehenge. The ancient Cymric name of these stone circles was Emrys Avee, Ambres or Ambrosius, signifying immortal or anointed stones.

"The practice of anointing sacred stones is as old as history or tradition. The Druidical stones in Cornwall were

called Dina's Emrys or the 'Anointed City.' In Genesis, chapter 28, we are told that Jacob set up a stone in Bethel and poured oil upon it. It is probable that Amber (French Ambre) means Ambrosial or sacred, as it was used by the Druids. Gridley, in his work on Stonehenge, says: 'It seems tolerably clear that the ancient name of Stonehenge is preserved by the neighboring town of Amesbury or Ambresberry, as it was formerly called.'

"The old English town is venerable in appearance — the little church, one of the oldest in that region. Here are situated the abbey of Amesbeery, one of the first religious houses in Great Britain. Tennyson, in his *Idyls of the King*, makes the faithless queen of King Arthur, after her disgrace in connection with Sir Lancelot, fly for refuge to 'the holy House of Amesbury.'

"Well may the people of the town cling fondly to the name which has come down to them from the pre-historic time of the Druids, Arthur and the Round Table, and which the great poet of the century has embalmed in his immortal verse."

Amesbury in Wiltshire, judging from the correspondence, seems to have taken a special interest in our town in recent years. The Amesbury Daily News at the time of its fiftieth anniversary printed a letter of congratulation from the Chairman of Amesbury District and Parish Councils, and in February of 1941 Judge Charles I. Pettigell received a letter acknowledging a donation sent by the children of our Congregational Church, which the writer said would be remembered by the children and others of his town. "Your letter," he added, "is being read to the children of our Sunday Schools and it will be my pleasure to see that they realize that the children of Amesbury, Massachusetts, are thinking about them during these troubled times." Several paragraphs follow:

"At a meeting of my Council held yesterday, your letter was read and I write to express the sincere thanks of all the members and the inhabitants of the Mother-Town.

"You may be interested to know that while the letter was being read the air-raid sirens were sounding an alert, and planes were actually overhead during the discussion. So far as Amesbury is concerned it has, so far, escaped injury.

"I can assure you the morale of the populace here is ex-



Kindness of Miss Mary Jane Kelley

OLD GEORGE HOTEL, SALISBURY, ENGLAND

Frequented by many visitors, and doubtless by service men in both wars.

cellent and that we can stand up to anything those wicked men can do to us, knowing full well that we shall secure absolute and complete victory.

"May I ask that when the paid cheque is received by your Massachusetts Bank that it could be sent here to be framed and exhibited in the Council Chamber, in the happier days that are to come, to perpetuate the bond of sympathy which has been demonstrated by your action."

This was followed by a note in September from the Methodist Sunday School, thanking the children here for their letter which "made a wonderful impression on our Kiddies."

From England comes a description of the English village, and a few paragraphs are added here:

"In England no one can get away from history. It must be remembered that every English village, and there are about 10,000 of them, is at least 1,500 years old and very many of them older. Least of all can one avoid history in the county of Wilts which fairly smells of pre-historic man and the old stone circles which he left behind him. And of all the little Wiltshire towns and villages probably no single one smacks of history as the little quaint old town of Amesbury nestling under the eastern end of the bare grassy plateau which we call Salisbury Plain. And there are no jokes about Amesbury except that its people, like all Wiltshire folk are Moonrakers. For long ago some Wiltshire yokels (that is, farm hands) were found raking in a pond. "Ho!" said the customs officer (tax collector). "What are you a raking of?" "We be rakin' thuc there green cheese," said the yokels, pointing to the reflected moon. So they were called the Moonrakers, and they rejoice as being thought stupid: but you try to buy a Wiltshire pig from them and see who comes off the better. For their moon was a cask of the best French cognac, smuggled as was customary from the Channel coast some twenty miles away.

"Amesbury today, is just a few nice old streets, red brick and tiles, or chequered stone and flint, a magnificent Early English Church, with its tall narrow undecorated windows, just like the lovely Cathedral of Salisbury, a beautiful old manor house (rather hidden from view) and a lot of scraggy bungalows, built for Army officers, for, alas, some forty years ago, the great solitary, bare sheep-haunted Plain was adopted as the great Army training centre. Amesbury with its lovely

(and good) old 'George Inn' remains the Ambresbury which was its earliest name. Ambres — burh, the burh or town of Aurelius Ambrosius, so they say. To a traditional convent, probably a real one, Gunevra fled to avoid the wrath of the wronged King Arthur. It was replaced in the 900's by a Benedictine nunnery founded by a Saxon princess. The Church at Amesbury is a magnificent old building, one of the best specimens of Early English architecture. But let us leave these old things for something older and undecayed. Mount any road out of Amesbury and you come out on The Plain or the bare downs. There, indeed, you will get air; the sharp bracing breeze in summer, the piercing bitter wind of winter. For there is nothing here to fend off wind from the steppes of Russia or the North Pole."

To cross the Atlantic to the Massachusetts Amesbury we find that at a "meetin" in the year 1667 "the Towne have named this Town Amesbery."

There is an anecdote relating to this locality that may be of interest. The people of Haverhill had been accustomed to cut the grass that grew in certain meadows nearby. Some Amesbury men had their eyes on these lands also, but the Haverhillites effectually drove their rivals away for a while. The Amesburyites, however, were determined to win out and so with a large number of men armed with scythes and pitch forks, attacked their enemy and a royal battle ensued. The local historian tells us that "The list of killed and wounded has not been handed down to us, and it may be sufficient to say that Amesbury maintained her rights in such a manner that there were no more infringements."

WENHAM

The early English travelers to New England had a good deal to say about Wenham and seem to have been especially struck with its attractiveness. John Josselyn in his "Account of Two Voyages to New England," published in London about 1674, wrote that Wenham was well watered, consisteth most of men of judgment and experience in re rustica, well stored with Cattle." A few years later, John Dunton, the well-known London bookseller, who voyaged here to collect a debt of five hundred pounds,



Kindness of Hon. Charles I. Pettingell

A VIEW OF HIGH STREET, AMESBURY, ENGLAND

described Wenham in his "Letters from New England" as a "delicious paradise," adding that "it abounds with all rural pleasures and I would choose it of all other towns in America to dwell in." On his travels he met Rev. Joseph Gerrish of Wenham and described that he lived "in so delicious a Paradise, that of all the Places in the Countrey, I shou'd have chosen this for the most happy Retirement. His house is.fitted with all the Conveniences proper for the Countrey."

Wenham Lake has been a much admired feature of our town, particularly in early days, and a good deal has been written about its history; in fact Rev. Hugh Peter for the first sermon preached in the town took as his text this stretch of water, in these words, "In Enon, near Salem, because there was much water there." He referred to Great Pond, as the lake was often called, and the word "Enon" was the early name for Wenham. John Adams spoke of this incident and mentioned a hill nearby which "resembled a high loaf of our country brown bread." This particular locality is known as Peter's Hill. The late John C. Phillips, a long time resident of this locality, in his admirable story of "Wenham Great Pond" discovered that the virtues of Wenham Lake ice were known to fashionable London as well as to many places in the "thirsty East," as he expressed it. Phillips quotes a writer from London as stating that this ice became a favorite immediately upon its arrival and upon presentation to the Queen, and that carts with the sign "Wenham Ice," carried it through the thoroughfares of the city. This English writer further said that "the Yankee sensationalist had better come to England with his pockets full of this, than of gold." The writer of "Wenham Great Pond" copies a quotation from EUROPEAN TIMES in 1845: "This commodity (Wenham ice) which was first introduced to the notice of the English public a short time ago through the medium of the Liverpool Press, is so rapidly advancing in popularity in the metropolis that no banquet of any magnitude is considered complete without it. It has become an essential element." As to the changes that have taken place in the Lake he says:

"We never again will see Wenham Pond, as God made it. They have pumped half the putrefaction of the Ipswich river into a spring fed pond, essence of dead dogs, pigs, cats and hens (we canoeists have seen them all). Water Boards come and go, politicians cannot agree and each autumn we Wenhamites must be content with smelly mud flats."

Early grants of land in Enon, later to be called Wennam and then spelled Wenham, were made to Francis Felmingham, Richard Rayment, John Fairfield, William Fisk, Samuel Smith, William Dodge and others. Many located near this lake. Thirteen members of the Fairfield family lie in the private burial ground situated on the estate of Randolph Tucker. The Historical Association has recently restored the head stones and the tomb. A member of this family, Herbert G. Fairfield of Boston, has been good enough to turn over to me much data, including his interesting scrap book descriptive of his visits to the two Wenhams in England. His father while employed by the Boston Ice Company used to cut ice on the lake. "My feeling is perhaps an exaggerated sentimentality," he writes, "because when my boy was born I named him after the original John who came to Wenham in 1638." John has now bought a house in Wenham and so has made himself available to "the tomb of his ancestors." Herbert Fairfield has taken a great interest in tracing his ancestors and in 1937 paid a visit to these two small towns in Suffolk, England, from which the Massachusetts name was derived, Greater and Little Wenham, in earlier days known as Wenham Magna and Wenham Parva. He learned that Wenham Ice was familiar there also.

A correspondent of Fairfield from nearby Essex, England, states his belief in the origin of the name: "There is a very wee stream called the 'Wen,' a tributary of the Stour. It would seem that Wenham is Anglo Saxon, 'Ham' being an enclosure. There would have been in those distant days a big and little enclosure presumably one on each side of the 'Wen.' Roman remains have also been found in the neighbourhood of the Wenhams so it has an ancient history." As nearly as can be learned there are only three Wenhams in the world Atlas, the one here and the other two close together in Suffolk, England.



Kindness of H. G. Fairfield, whose ancestor was one of the early settlers in our Wenham

LITTLE WENHAM HALL, OR CASTLE, IN LITTLE WENHAM, ENGLAND

Situated near the "Constable country," between Ipswich and Colchester.

This structure was probably built primarily as a place of defense.



Kindness of H. G. Fairfield, whose ancestor was one of the early settlers in our Wenham

GREAT WENHAM CHURCH IN GREAT WENHAM, ENGLAND

The building was erected in the 13th Century and was beautified by Rev. Daniel Constable Whally, a nephew of the famous painter. Both Wenhams are described as typical small English villages, and from them our Wenham derived its name. The locality was once the site of a Roman settlement.

From Mr. Fairfield's notes can be found a great deal of information concerning the English Wenhams. It appears that Alfred E. Wenham of Birmingham, England, visited our Wenham and from him it was learned that the family traces back to a Norman Baron, John de Wenham, who came to England with William the Conqueror. Another visitor by the name of Wenham, of Cleveland, Ohio, once visited the Massachusetts town.

There is a history of the Wenham family in Ipswich, England, and in 1935 the First Wenham and Capel Guides sent some books for our Wenham library and in return our town sent them a banner. Fairfield's notes describe the finding of a crypt in the cemetery at Little Wenham, where appears a record of the death of Jan Furfeld in 1634, possibly the father of the John of that name who came here and settled at Wenham. Little Wenham Hall or Castle was evidently built as a place of defense, and Robert Brewse seems to have been the most important personage of that village. The church contains many relics of the past, and the building known as the manor is an interesting structure.

The East Anglian Daily Times of 1931 sums up Great Wenham "as an attraction of a quiet and undisturbed past, of fine old buildings and homely (meaning homey) pursuits." The scrap book, above referred to, states that the town is "great only in name," that it is a "pleasant village of elms and oaks and some very fine Elizabethan farm houses and thatched cottages." It was originally a Roman settlement. The church was erected in the thirteenth century and contains a tilting helmet, shield and sword owned by a member of the East family. The church was beautified by Rev. Daniel Constable Whally, a nephew of the famous Constable who lived and painted nearby; in fact, both hamlets are on the edge of what is known as the "Constable country." They lie between Ipswich and Colchester about a mile off the main road. Both towns are spoken of as typical English villages and to quote again the Fairfield note book, "In both places are churches and in the smaller towns there is a suggestion of old manorial

days as the Castle and Church are close together and both are protected by an ancient moat."

As we are accustomed to speak of Wenham and Hamilton almost in the same breath, I am venturing to relate briefly a recent incident connected with the latter town. On December 3rd, 1937, the Government decided at an expense of \$150,000 to sponsor the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the first covered wagon which left "The Hamlet," now Hamilton, on December 3rd, 1787. Miss Mary Curtis, opposite whose house the caravan set out, wrote me that "The fact that Ohio was settled by New Englanders had an important bearing on the future of the entire country, as when Ohio came into the Union as a State they had to decide whether slavery would be allowed (in their State constitution). The descendants of these God-fearing early settlers said 'We won't have any human bondage in our State' so in the Civil War Ohio (a 'pivotal state') was on the side of the Union. If it had been a slave state the Secessionists might have won and the entire course of our history changed." Accordingly, the red and blue covered caravan with 1200 pounds of mail and carrying the Ohio State flag, 22 men (with powder horns and muskets) two yoke of oxen, three saddle horses and two pack horses, set out on its long trek for Marietta, Ohio, where the original Ohio Company settled one hundred and fifty years ago. Two miles per hour was to be the dizzy pace as a newspaper man who followed on foot described it. Thirty three college graduates took part, including four women. As the driver of the ox team, Marvin Shock, started up his oxen, he said that the only regret he had on leaving Essex County was the fact he couldn't experience the difference between Ipswich and Essex clams. As they approached one town in a drizzling rain they sang "It Ain't Gonna Rain No More," and as they proceeded further the account read that they looked more like a football eleven after a grueling contest.

The reports of the progress of the caravan incited some of the Harvard students to such an extent that something had to be done to make their journey west more realistic, so dressed as Indians they staged a hold-up at West Brookfield, Massachusetts, where an "Hilarious battle" took

place, to use a newspaper headline. "Tea Party Redmen hunt for Squaws," was another caption. The travelers were ambushed much to their surprise and greatly to the delight of the townspeople, who turned out on the Warren bridge to witness the fun. Blank cartridges were fired, while the Indians warwhooped and wailed, brandishing tomahawks, bows and arrows and old muskets. Several "Indians" leaped on the oxen and invaded the wagon in search of the "squaws." Fists took the place of weapons while the spectators shouted with glee. "Custer's last stand was finally over," quoted a newspaper. In the end the "Indians" shook hands and identified themselves as of old Boston families whose ancestors had taken part in the Boston Tea Party.

ORDERLY BOOK KEPT BY CAPT. ABRAHAM
DODGE OF IPSWICH, JANUARY 1, 1776 TO
AUGUST 1, 1776.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN POSSESSION OF
THE ESSEX INSTITUTE.

(Continued from Volume LXXXI, Page 94.)

The several Brigades are to be drawn up this evening on their Respective parades at 6 oClock when the declaration of Congress Shewing the Grounds and reasons of this measure is to be read with an Audible voice the General Hopes this important point will serve as a fresh incitement to every Officer and soldier to act with Fidelity and Courage as knowing that now the peace and safety of this Country depends (under God) Solely on the success of our arms and that he is now in the service of a State posses'd of a sufficient Power to reward his merit and Advance him to the Highest honour of a free Country —

The Brigade Majors are to receive at the Adj't Generals office several of the declarations to be dtd the Brigadiers and Cols of Regts.

The Brigade Majors are excus'd from further attendance at Head Quarters except to receive the Orders of the day, that their time and attention may be drawn as little as possible from the duties of their respective Brigades —

General Greens Orders

The Adj't. of the day to Cary the Parole and Countersign to the following Guards the Guards at Red Hook Smiths Barbettie Fort Box Fort Green and Fort Putnam fort Sterling and the ferry Gd

The Brigade Major to have the Parole and Countersign seal'd up directed to the Commanding Officer of the Above Guards which are to be dtd Seasonably An orderly Sert. to attend the field officer of the day the Commanding Officer of every Guard to see to Ye The Commanding officer of every Guard to see to the posting the Centries and give to each his Charge in the presence of the serjeant of the Guard who at every Relief is to Give the same Charge to the Centries Comming on that those had that go off —

The Officer Commanding the Guard will be answerable for every Neglect of the sergeant of the Centries all guards that are relieved first to Collect all the out Centries before the Guard Marches off — then the guard is to be marched to the Grand Parade and there dismiss, The field Officer for the Day is requested to attend to the marching of the New Guards and dismissing the Old Ones and to report the state of them —

Sert Ketcham of Col Vernums Regt. having reflected upon the whole coore of Officers belonging to that Regiment, Upon the Trial of the Sert the president of the Court now in being to dismiss all the members belonging to Col Venum and make up the Court out of Col Formans Regiment of the same rank of as those dismissed —

Head Quarters July 10 1776

Parole

Countersign

A working party of 150 men properly officered to parade to morrow morning With their Arms Near the the laboratory at 6 oClock to take 3 days Provisions, the Commanding Officers to Come to Head Quarters for his Orders the Q. M. G. to rovide tents — General Heaths Brigade instead of repairing to their Alarm Posts to morrow morning to hold themselves in Readiness to march as they will receive their Orders from the Brigadr Genl. On the parade at 4 oClock, the Brigadr will attend at Head Quarters this Afternoon for the Orders The General doubts not but that the persons who took down and Mutilated the Statue in the broadway last Night were actuated by Zeal In the publick Cause, Yet it has so much the Appearance of Riot and want Of Ordr in the Army that the disapproves the manner and directs that in future these things Shall be avoided by the Soldiery and left to executed by Proper Authority

General Greens Orders

The Deputy Commissary Mr. Brown to Issue Provisions three times a week on Tuesdays Thursdays and Saterdays and Saterdays the Qr. Masters of the Several Regiments to give their Attendance accordingly. It has been represented to the General that Putrid fever now prevailing Among the Troops is partly owing to their going into the Water in the Heat of ye Day for the Future they are for-

bid Going into the Water only in the mornings and evenings a Fatigue Party to morrow of 150 men to begin at 5 in the morning and work till 8 then at 4 in the Afternoon and work till Sunset — this Fatigue party to be Continued untill Smiths Barbettee is Completed to be furnished from the 11 & 12 Regts. of the Jerseys and New Levies —

Head Quarters July 11 1776

Parole Quebec

Countersign Roxbury

General Spencers Brigade instead of repairing to their Alarm Post to hold themselves in readiness to march to morrow morning att 4 oClock —

The Brigadier General will attend at Head Q^{rs} for Ord^{rs} which he will deliver to morrow morning in the Parade to the Brigade —

As the weather is very warm there will be the greatest danger of the Troops growing unhealthy Unless both officers and men are attentive to Cleanliness both in person and Quarters — The officers are required to visit the men frequently in their Quarters to impress on them the Necessity of frequently Changing their linen Cleaning their Rooms and where ever it Can be avoided not to Cook their Victuals in the same Room where they sleep —

If any of the Officers apprehend themselves Crowded in their quarters they are to represent it to the barrick master who is order'd to accommodate them in such a manner as to be Conduive to Health and Convenience, the good of the service the Comfort of the men and the merit of the officers will be so much Advanced by keeping the Troops as Neat and Clean as Possible that the General Hopes there will be an emulation upon this Head and as a Scruting will soon be made those who will be found Negligent will be punished and the deserving rewarded —

40 men Properly Officered to attend Col. Mason and work under his direction, those men not to be Chang'd any day as have been the case but to Continue with him till the service is Completed,

Brigadr for the Day General Heard —

Brigade Major for the Day Henly

General Greens Orders

The sick being Numerous in the Hospital and few

Women nurses to be Had the Regimental Surgeons must report the Number Necessary for the sick of ye Regiment and the Colonels and Commanding Officers are requested to supply accordingly and Dailey report to be made to the Commanding Officers of Corps by the Surgeons of the watchers wanting in the Hospital which are to be Apply'd Accordingly —

The Commanding Officers of the Several Posts are Requested to examine and report the best method for Covering the Picquit Guard in the several works

The Fatigue partys to be turned out in time to be at work on the Hill by five in the morning No excuse will be taken for the future for any Neglect of this kind —

The Adjutants will be answerable if their Men are not brought on the Parade Puntually at the time appointed —

Head Quarters July 12, 1776

Parole Summerset

Countersn Tunbridge

Thomas Blunfield of Capt Darrows Comy. In Col. Parsons Regiment Tried by a General Ct. Martial where of Col. Reed was President was found guilty of desertion and sentenced to receive 39 lashes the General Approves of the sentence and Orders it to be put into execution at the Usual time and Place — Lord Sterlings Brigade to be on the Parade to morrow Morning at 4 oClock with their Arms and acoutriments ready to march, their will receive Ordrs from the Brigadr at the Parade —

General Greens Orders

July 12 1776

Capt Spurr is directed to Inlarge the Armourers Shop sufficient for eight more Workmen The Picquits Guards in the several Posts to parade Just about Break of day and Continue under arms In the works untill sunrise. The Commanding Officer of each Picquit to Ordr the Reville beat every morning at Grey day Light the Fatigue Party both officers and men to be warned over Night the fatigue Parties are not to go to their Alarm Posts in the Morning but to begin to work at 5 oClock

Head Quarters July 13 1776

Parole

Countersign

The Guard at Fort George to be reinforced with a Field Officer 2 Capt 6 Subs 6 Serts. 6 Corporals 90 Privates

The General was very Sorry to Observe Yesterday that Many of the Officers and a Number of the Soldiers in Stead of attending to their duty at the beating of the Drum continued along the banks of Ye North River gazing at the Ships such unsoldier like conduct must Grieve every good officer and give Ye Enemy a mean Opinion of the Army as Nothing shews the brave and Good Soldier more than in the Case of an Alarm Coolly and Calmly repairing to his post there waiting his Orders whereas the indulgence of Such a week Curiosity at such a time makes a man look mean and Comtemptable —

A well dressed orderly Sert. from Genl. Scotts Genl Wadsworths and General Heard's Brigades to attend at Head Q^{rs} every Day the majors of the New Brigades and all other officers of those Corps are directed to look over the Orderly Books before they Come into Camp and Acquaint themselves with the former Orders. they are also to be Carefull that the daily Orders are delivered so as that Neither officer or Soldier may Plead Ignorance as in that Case they will be deemed Answerable A Working Party of 800 men properly officered to Parade to morrow morning at 6 oClock

Learned's and Wyll's Regiments to receive Tools for making Faschines they are to take their dinners with them Ensign Field of Learned's to Attend this Party —

All the other Regiments to attend at the Engineers Store for Tools and Orders 3 hours allow'd for dinner work till 7 and so Continue till further Orders, all who have Tools belonging to the Engineers Store to return them immediately. If any Brigade or Regiment are exempted from Fatigue at any time, the Brigade Major to Inform the Engineer thereof that he may proportion what are sent accordingly, the safety and success of the Army Depends so much upon having the works in all possible forwardness that the General is much Concern'd to find the Brigade Majors represented as deficient in that part of Duty, only five Regts Learned's, Reeds, Baileys, Parsons and Wyll's have turned out their working partys to day —

The General Hopes this is the last time he shall have Occasion to take Notice of any Such Neglect —

Head Quarters July 14 1776

Parole Andover

Countersn Bristol

A Court of inquiry to set to morrow morning to examine into the Conduct against Col. Ritzma who stands Charged with practices contrary to Ye Rules and Regulations of the Army —

Brigad^r General Heath President

Col. Wyllys

Members

Col. Malcom

Lieut. Col. Johnson

Lieut. Col. Brearley

Advocate General and Witnesses to attend the Court at Montagnies Tavern in the Fields 10 oClock The Regiment of Artificers under Command of Col. Park to join Lord Sterlings Brigade they will receive Orders from the Brigad^r with respect to their Alarm Posts.

Arrangment and duty in Case of Action — The Regimental Surgeons to meet on Tuesday Next at Nine oClock at the Coffee House on business of Importance, the Adjutants of the several Regiments to give them Special Notice — The Major of Brigade and Adjutant of Genl. Scotts General Wadsworths and General Wards Brigades are to send into the Adjutant Generals Office a daily report of every Regiment or Company belonging to the several Brigades as they Join the Army —

In order that Proper Arrangments may be made while time will Admit the Majors of Brigades are to be answerable for disobedience to this Ord^r and if the Adjutants refuses Or Neglects their duty they are to be put under arrest Immediately All the Brigade Majors and Adjutants are again reminded that the weekley returns as well Brigade as Regimental Ones to be bro't in every Saturday at Orderly time, and as to the Adj^t. General Office Inaccuracy and Neglect in their Returns will liviate difficulties in the pay ment of the men —

The Cols. and Commanding Officers should Carefully examine the returns and Compare them with those of the preceeding Week and have all ye Alteration accounted for, The [General] strongly recommends it to the soldiers to be Carefull of their Arms and Amunitions all time but especially in Rainey Weather, an Enterprising enemy Depend upon Neglect in this Article Often make an attack and too frequently with success Officers also will be very Attentive

to this Order and if Complied with, John Andrews, Jeremiah Willard, and William Cary, belonging to General Lees Guard to Join Capt Ford's Company of Artificers —

The Chief Engineer was mistaken in the report yesterday as to Col. Baldwins Col Wards and Huntingtons Regts. Neglect their fatigue and take the First Oppportunity to rectify it —

Brigad^r for the day Gen^l Lord Sterling

Head Quarters July 15 1776

Parole

Countersign

The pay Abstracts for the month of June are immediately to be made up Carefully examined by the Colonels or Commanding Officers of Regts. and then Certifyed by the Brigadr after which to be lodged by the paymaster General — a working party of 150 men with a field officer 3 Capts and Six Subs 12 Sergeants 3 Drummers to parade to morrow on the Grand Parade and go up to Kings bridge to relieve the party sent up there 7 July to take their Arms and 2 days Provision to Apply to General Putnam for boats for Transportation and when at Kings Bridge to Apply to General Miffin for orders. It is intended that all those detach'd Parties at Kings Bridge Shall be reliev'd Once a week in future —

Head Quarters July 16 1776

The Hon^{ble} the Continental Congress having been pleased to increase the pay of the Regimental Surgeons to 33½ Dollars pr month to take place from the 5 of June last & that the pay of the Troops in the middle department Shall be Six ⅔ dollars pr month from the 10 of July last —

The pay Abstracts are to be made out accordingly and Care taken to prevent Confusion or delay — The Herry of Business Often preventing Particular Invitation being Given to Officers to dine with Ye General —

He presents his Compliments to the Brigadiers and Field Officers of the Day and requests while the Camp Continues settled in this City, They will favour him with their Company to Dinner without any further or Special Invitation The Officers under whose Care and Direction the Cartriges are made up having neglected to make daily

Returns to Head Quarters —

They may depend upon after this day any Officer Omitting to send a dailey return of the Number of Cartridge made will be put under arrest for disobedience of Orders. Brigadr for the day General Heath Field Officer for the Picquit Col. Parsons —

After Orders Col. Reed President of the present setting Court martial being unable to attend Col. Web is to Succeed him as President of sd Court martial to Assemble to morrow morning at Nine oClock at the brick House Near Col. MacDougalls Encampment —

Camp Long Island July 16 1776

General Greens Orders

All Prisoners that are sent to the main Guard by the Field Officer of the day with or without Crimes are to be kept Prisoners till the new Guards Comes unless sooner Release'd by him or the general at the mounting the new Guards every person under Confinement to be released unless a crime be delivered into the Captain of the Guard in writing Against them by the person that Committed them with his Name to his Charge Lieut. Col. Cornall and Capt. Warner are Appointed to oversee the works at Smiths Barbettee — and to Compleat the same they are to be excused from all other duty. Fatigue Parties for the future are to work every Cool Day as Long as the Col. Thinks Advisable, the General Wishes the Troops to be as Industrious as Possible, least the enemy make their attack before the works are Completed. A Subalterns gd to mount at Rapelljies Mills down upon the point every Night they are to Continue there untill sunrise in the morning the Major of Brigade and the Field officers of the day are desired to fix Ye Guard and Post the Centries for the first time and to give the Commanding officer his charge in writing signed by the field Officer of the day which instructions are to be delivered by the Officer of the Old Guard to the Officer of the new Guard and the Officer of the old Guard is directed to go down with the Officer of the New Guard at Guard Mounting and Shew him where to place the Centries this is to be only a Night Guard and dismis't in the Morning —

Field Officer for the day to morrow Lieut Col. Hen-
shaw Adjutant from Col. Formans Regt.

Head Quarters July 17 1776

Parole Lee

Countersign Putnam

A working party of 50 men properly Officered to parade to morrow morning at 6 oClock with their Arms near the laboratory then Capt. Anderson will attend from whom they are to receive directions. Quarter master General to supply such Tools as they may want.

John Barrian Henry Mott and John Rhea Junr. a Committee of the town Appointed to give passes to the Citizens going over the ferry ———

Officers and Soldiers who want passes Over the ferry are to Apply to their own Brigadier Genl and the General desires they will give no passes to officers or soldiers of another Brigade ———

The Officers of the Ferry Guard to attend this Ordr make it known to the Centries ———

The two Companies of Col Van Cortlands Regt. on Long Island to Join their Regiments in New York Capt Kelseys Company and the Company under the Command of Lieut Boden of Col Newcombs Regt. is to replace them to morrow morning at 9 oClock. the Court of Inquiry upon Col Ritzma's conduct having reported that no other of the Charges made Against him was supported except that of using disrespectfull expressions, of Brigadr Genl Lord Sterling and his Lordships Generosity Overlooking the personal Affronts offered him, the General Orders Yt all further proceedings Cease Col. Ritzma be discharged from his arrest ———

Yesterday A detachment of 150 Ordered for Kings bridge to march from the parade at 6 oClock did not leave it till 9 oClock by which they lost their Tide, and then much short of the proportion of Officers an evil which is every day increasing the Brigade Majors will hereafter be deemed answerable for such neglect unless they report to the Adj. General the same day What Adj. fails in bringing his Quoto on the Parade in time, or put such Adjutant immediately under arrest and report it at Head Quarters ———

The Adj. and Cols. of the new Troops Ariving are to

take notice that weekly returns of their Regiments are to be sent in at Orderly time every Saturday — Blank returns will be given out at the Adjutant Generals Office to those who Apply for them and Orderly Book for each Comy. A working Party of 150 men properly Officered to parade to morrow morning at 6 oClock with their Arms Near the laboratory to take one days Provision to relieve Ye Party which went up the 10 Instant this party to stay a week and then be Relieved —

Field Officer for the Day to morrow Majr Collins
Adjutant from Col Hitchcocks Regt —

Head Quarters July 18

Parole

Countersign

Altho the general is sensible that the Great fatigue Duty of the Army which he is highly pleas'd to see the officers and men go through with so much Chearfullness and zeal does not allow much Time for Manovering and exercising the Troops Yet it is a matter of so much Consequence to have them as well practiced as time and Circumstances will Admit, that he earnestly recommends to the Brigadiers Cols and Commanding Officers of Regiments to take time for that purpose and particularly to have the men Instructed and Practice the evolutions manouvering and so much of the Manuel Exercise as respects loading and Firing not only with Quickness but Calmness —

Two Guns fired from Cobble Hill on Long Island are to be a Signall that the enemy have landed on that Island — Complaints having been frequently made that Centries especially those along the River fire wantonly at boats and persons passing Officers of Guards are to be Carefull upon this Head and acquaint the Centries that they are not to fire Upon Boats Coming to the town and that they may not molest or interrupt the Army Boats —

The present Number of Fatigue to be augmented with 100 men properly Officered the whole parade percisely at 6 oClock in the morning to Continue so till further Orders —

Col. Malcom of General Scotts Brigade to have the superentendance of the works laid out near Yt Encampment to be excus'd from all other duty The general In-

vites the Brigade major of the day to dine with him in Course with the other Officers of the Day ——

General Greens Orders

Field Officer for the day to morrow Lieut Col. Handerson Adjutant from Col. Littles Regt. — The Commanding Officers of each Guard to send out Patrolling Parties every hour who are to advance as silent as possible and every once in a few rods to stop and listen with attention to discover such as may be lurking round the works as spies ——

Head Quarters July 19 1776

Parole Lewis

Countersⁿ Maryland

A Detachment of 300 men properly Officered to parade to morrow at 6 oClock on the Grand Parade With two days Provision to go in boats by way of the east River to Kings-bridge to execute such work as shall be laid out by the Engineer

Lieut. Champion of Col. Wyllys Regt to Oversee Said Works Major Reed to furnish this party with such Tools as Col. Putnam Shall direct A Working Party of 50 men properly Officered to parade to morrow morning at 6 oClock on the Grand parade without arms to receive Orders from Capt. Anderson and Tools from the laboratory ——

William Harridon of Capt Warners Comy In Col. Reeds, Regt. David Ludlow of Capt. Ludlows Company, Col. Mac Dougalls Regt. Both Tried by a Court martial wherof Col Webb was president for desertion and found Guilty were sentanced to receive the former 39 lashes Ye latter 20 the Genl. Approves of the sentances and orders them to be executed at the Usual time and Place ——

The field Officer for the Picquit are desired to attend on the Grand parade puntually at $\frac{1}{4}$ after 8 oClock in the morning and to Continue there till Ye Guards are march'd off for there has been Great remissness of that kind ——
Brigdr for the Day General Heard

General Greens Orders

The works on Cobble Hill being Greatly retarded for want of men to lay Turf there being but few in a Regiment acquainted with that service all those in Col. Hitchcocks and Col. Littles Regts that understand that business are desired to Voluntarily turn out every day and they shall be

excus'd from all other duty and allow'd half a pint of rum
pr man pr day One Half of the Fatigue party to Work
to morrow at fort Sterling in Widening the Ditch Lieut
Col. Cornal will detach the Party and give the Command-
ing Officer Necessary Instructions Capt. Newall of the
Train to mount on Artillery Gd in Smiths Barbettee on
Cobble Hill of a Sert. and Six men ———

Field Officer for the day tomorrow Majr Parker
Adjutant from Col. Formans Regt.

Head Quarters July 20 1776

Parole

Countersign

Daniel Grimes of Capt. Flaws Company Col. Maxfields
Regiment tried by a Genl Court Martial whereof Col. was
President was found Guilty of Desertion but some Favour-
able Circumstances appeared in the Prisoners behalf his
Punishment is omitted the provost Martial is ordered to
deliver him to Capt. Felten in order to be put out to sum
Regt. to do Duty there untill some Oppertunity offers to
send him to his own ———

Brigadr for the day General Wadsworth Field Officers
for the Picquit Col. Van Carthland Lt. Col. Wesson and
Major Prentice

Brigade Major for the day Hoops

Regimental Orders 12 Regt

At a late Regimental Court Martial whereof Capt
Dodge was President, Abraham Buswell was Tried for
Abusing Serjeant Haskell and Threatening to break his
Head with the Britch of his Gun and refusing to Obey
Col. Little & Major Collins the Prisoner was found Guilty
and sentanced to receive 15 lashes on his Naked back ———

Also Henry Waltern of Capt Warners Comy and Sam-
uel Witham of Capt Gerrishes Comy Tried by the same
Court martial for Playing and Gambling Contrary to
General Orders Is found Guilty and sentanced to be brout
before ye Head of the Regiment and Ask Pardon of the
Major and receive such repremanding as shall be Given
them by the Col. and likewise dig the first two vaults that
the Regiment shall want the Col Approves of the forego-
ing sentance and orders the sentance of Walten and With-
am to be executed to [morrow] morning when the Regi-
ment Come upon their Alarm Posts, but for special reasons

orders the execution of Buswells to be suspended till further Orders that all of them to be taken from their Confinement and put upon duty —

Head Quarters July 21 1776

Parole Philadelphia

Countersn Quebeck

William Parker of Capt. Johnsons Company in Col Mac Dougalls Regt. Charged with Absenting himself several days from Camp without Permission having been Tried by a General Court martial whereof Col Webb was president is found Guilty and sentanced to receive 20 lashes the General Approves of the sentence and Orders it to be executed at ye usual time and Place —

Sergeant Ballard late of General Lees Guard now in Custody for having presumed to give a pass to a person to Cross the east River — Appearing to have done it more thro Ignorance than design the General is pleased to discharge him but if any Inferior Officer shall hereafter take such A Liberty he will be severely punished. It being Again declared that passes to Citizens and Country People are only to be Granted by John Beman Henry Willmott and John Ray Junr. or one of them — Passes to Officers and soldiers only by a Major General Brigadr. Genl. of the Brigade to which the person belongs the Adjutant Genl. Generals Secretary or Aid De Camp —

The General has great Pleasure in Communicating to the officers and soldiers the signall success of the American Army Under Genl Lee at South Carolina, the enemy having attempted to land at the same time A Furious Conanade for 12 hours was made upon the Fortications Near Charlestown both fleet and Army have been repulsed with great loss by a Small Number of Gallant Troops Just arrived — the enemy had 170 killed and wounded among whom were several Officers, two Capital Ships much Damaged 1 Frigate of 20 Guns Intirely lost being Abaned and Blowed up by the Crew and others so hurt that they will want Great repair before they can be fit for service, and all with a loss on our side of ten men killed and 22 wounded, the firmness Bravery and Courage of our Troops have crown'd them with Immortal Honour, The dying Heroes Conjured their Brethen never to abandon the Standard of Liberty and even those who had their limbs Continued at

their Posts Their Gallantry and Spirit extorted Applause from the enemy who dejected and defeated retired to their former Station out of the Reach of our Troops —

This Glorious example of Troops under the like Circumstances with us the General Hopes will Animate every officer and soldier to Imitate and even out do them when the enemy shall make the same attempt on us with such a bright example before us of what Can be done by brave and Spirited men fighting in defence of their Country we shall be loaded with a double Share of and Infamy if we do not Acquit our selves with Courage and determined Resolution to Conquer or die —

With this hope and Confidence and that this Army will have its Equal Share and Honour and Success The General most earnestly exorts every Officer and Soldier to pay the utmost attention to his arms and Health to have the former in the best Orders of an action and by Cleanliness to preserve the latter, to be exact in their discipline Obedient to their superiors and Vigilant on duty, with such preparation and a suitable Spirit there Can be no doubt but by the Blessings of Heaven we Shall repel our Cruel Invaders preserve our Country and gain the greatest honour

A working party of 150 men properly officered to parade to morrow morning 6 oClock with their Arms and Amunitions and one days Provision to go up to Kings Bridge by water to relieve Ye Party which went up the 15 Instant to apply to General Putnam for Boats —

The General is much Pleased with the Alacrity of the men in doing Fatigue duty and he is resolved to ease them as much as the service will Admitt directs that untill further Orders — The men who are to go upon Fatigue are excused from turning out to the Alarm Posts for that day unless in Case of a real Alarm A Working Party of 50 men properly Officered to Attend Capt Anderson when and as Long as he shall direct —

Brigadr for the day General Heath Field Officer for the Picquit Col Wyllys Lt. Col Arnold and Major Hendley

Head Quarters July 22d 1776

Parole

Countersign

The Orderly Sergeants to attend at Head Quarters are

hereafter to bring their Dinners and wait till they are Regularly dismissed —

As it is much to be feared the state of the necessary Houses in the City may endanger the Healths of the Troops Quarter there. It is recommended to the Officers and men to guard Against it as much as Possible and if any Method Can be fallen upon to remove or lessen the Inconveniences to Apply to the Barruck master for that purpose The General Has Noticed with Pleasure the Care of the Troops in the Encampment on this subject He hopes they will Continue it for the sakes of their Own Healths and the Credit of the Army — It being represented to the General that many Regt. would at this season Choose to lessen their rations of Meet and supply it with vegetables if they Could be permitted. His Concern for the Healths of the Troops and desire to gratify them in every Reasonable request induces him to direct that the Cols. of such Regiments as choose to Adopt this Plan signify it to the Commissary General and in two Days Afterwards the Qr masters of such Regts. to be allowed to draw one Qr part of the Usual Rations in money to be laid out in Vegetables for his Regiment

Passes from Col. Knox for the Officers and soldiers of the Artillery only to be sufficient to pass the ferries —

Brigadier for the day General Spencer Field Officer for the Picquit Col. Bailey Lieut Col. Wells and Major Howell Brigade Major for the day Hendley

General Greens Orders July 23 1776

The Cols and Commanding Officers of the 1st 9th 11th & 12th Regiments are requested to send in a return of the vacancies of the Regiments together with a list of the Names they propose to fill them this return is wanted by to morrow Morning 9 oClock the 11 12 and Col Formans Regiments are to parade on their Regimental Parades instead of going to their Alarm Posts to morrow morning the Commanding Officer of each Regt. will receive Orders on the Spots When and where to march, the duty being exceeding heavy on the men Ye General thinks Proper to lesson the Fatigue Party one Half and reduce the guard in Fort Gren Putnam $\frac{1}{3}$ and a sergeants Guard of 12 men to mount in Fort Box Instead of the present Guard

Head Quarters July 23d 1776

Parole

Countersⁿ

It is with great astonishment and surprize the General learns the soldiers inlist from one Corps to another and frequently receive County and that some officers have knowingly received such men so Glaring a fraud upon the Publick and Injury to the service will be punished in the most exemplary manner —

and the General most earnestly requests and expects of every good officer who loves his Country not only to disapprove of such Practices but to make Ye offender known that they may be brought to Justice — The Guards at The Ship Yards to be reenforced with a Capt and 20 men —

Brigadr for the Day General Lord [Sterling] field Officer for Picquit

Col Baldwin Lt. Col. Russell and Major Buel

Brigade Major for the day Levingston

General Greens Orders

Field Officer for the Day to morrow Majr Angell

Adjt from Col. Hitchcocks Regt.

Head Quarters July 24 1776

Parole

Countersign

300 men properly Officer'd to parade to morrow Morning at 6 oClock on the Grand parade with their Arms to Relieve the party that went to Kings Bridge on the Instant to take one Days Provision and go up by water attending to the Tide General Wadsworths Brigade to furnish 50 Carpenters with a Capt two Sub 4 Serjts. 4 Corporals 1 Drum 1 Fife to proceed to Kings Bridge to build Stores for the Commissary and Qr. master General this detachment to be allowed for in the Detail and to proceed by Water to Apply to General Putnam for Boats to parade with arms & one Days Provision at 6 oClock tomorrow morning at the Assistant Quarter Master General and take his directions. Each Brigadier with the Cols and Commanding Officers of the several Regiments in his Brigade are to meet and estimate the Quantity of Paper Necessary to serve a Regt. for returns and other Publick uses for a month and make report thereof to the General at Orderly Time on Friday next Yt. the Quarter master General may be di-

rected to provide and deliver the same Monthly to the Colonels for the Use of their Regiments. The General being sensible of the difficulty and expense of Providing Cloaths of almost any kind for the Troops feels an unwillingness to recommend, much more to Ordr. any kind of Uniform but that it is absolutely Necessary that men should have Cloaths Appear decent and light. He Earnestly encourages the use of hunting Shirts with long breches made of the same Cloath made Gaiter fasshion about the legs to all those who are yet unprovided no dress can be had Cheaper none more Convenient, as the wearing may be Cool in Warm weather and warm in Cool Weather by putting on under Cloaths which will not change the outer Dress Winter or Summer besides which it is a dress which is Justly supposed to Carry no Small Terror to the enemy who Thinks every such person a Compleat Marksman — some difficulties having interven'd so that the Commissary General Cannot Comply with the order of the 22d Instant respecting the lessning the rations of meet and paying money in Lieu that Ye men may increase their Vegetables in the time Alloted them for that purpose, the Colonels are desired not to Draw for such money till further Orders and directions be taken in the matter which will be done immediately —

General Greens Orders

A Fatigue party out of the 11th and 12th Regts. to parade at 4 oClock this Afternoon to Cut Fasschines to Consist of one Subaltern Officer and 30 Privates to be provided with 4 days Provision and a pint of Rum pr man — The Commanding Officer of this Party will Receive his orders from Lieut Col. Cornall The Capt. of the ferry Guard is not to Stop any Passengers going Into the City unless they have reason to suspect them to be enemies but none is to Come out of the City without proper passes The Fatigue for the whome duty to be as much Lessoned as the number detached

Head Quarters July 25

Parole Abbington

Countersign Bedford

Alexander Stedman David Wood George Badswell
Gidion Dimonds of Col Chesters Regiment Thomas Andrews of Col Wyllys Regt. Giles Thrall and Ebenezer

Strool of Col. Wards & Seth Bassett of Col. Parsons Regiment to work at the Wheel Rights Shop undr Capt Ford till further Orders The Countersign to be delivered by the proper Officer to the provost Guard as well as the other Guards and Care to be taken in future that the provost martials Guard be properly Officer'd there having been A Complaint made upon that Head ———

Henry Davis of Capt. Johnsons Comy. Col. Mac Dougalls Regiment tried by a Genl Ct Martial whereof Col Webb was president and found Guilty of desertion is sentenced to receive 20 lashes ———

The General Approves of the sentence and Orders it to be executed at the Usual time and Place ———

It is with inexpressable Concern the Gen^l sees Soldiers fighting in the Cause of liberty and their Country Committing Crimes most destructive to the Army, and which in all armies are punished with Death, what a shame and reproach will it be, of soldiers fighting to Enslave us for 2 or 3^d pr day should be more regular watchfull and sober than men who are Contending for everything that is dear and Valuable in life ———

William Baker of Capt Johnsons Company in Col. Mac Dougalls Regiment having been sentenced to be whipped 39 lashes for Absenting himself several Days from the Camp is pardoned by the General on some favorable Circumstances Appearing but is to be publicly reprimanded by at the Head of the Regt. The Hon^{ble} The Continental Congress in Consideration of the Sert Majr Qr. masters Sert Drum and Fife Major not having pay Addequate to their service and hoping it will excite them to Vigilence and Industry have been Pleased to increase the pay of those officers having no other Appointment 1 dollar pr month to Commence the 16 Instant ———

Peter Giddens Appoint Brigade Major to Genl. Hearsd Brigade is to be obeyed and respected as such ———

After Orders from Head Quarters July 25 The Soldiers who have entered on Board the Roe Galleys Comanded by Capt Cork are to repair immediately on Board and the officers of the Regiments to which they respectively belong are to forward them as much as Possible as the same is of the most important kind ———

Head Quarters July 26 1776

Parole

Countersign

The General Court Martial to set to morrow for the Trial of Ensign Briant now undr arrest for sending some soldiers to take some old Iron away and other Materials from the ships no [w] fitting out for Publick use

The Qr master Genl. to take the Rigging Stores and other Articles belonging to the vessels to be safely secured in some ware House or Store Any officer or Soldr here after found Medling Improperly with any part of them may depend upon being punished with severity —

The Guards at Harrisons Brewery to be mounted Consisting of one Sub. 1 Sert. 1 Corl. and 24 Privates every evening and Centries to be posted proper Distances from the air Famace, [?] along the shore till they come up Opposite to Col Baldwins Qrs. General Green being particularly engaged at present passes sign'd by Lieut Blodget are to be allow'd sufficient to enable persons to Cross the ferry — Agreeable to Ye Orders of the 22d Instant —

It is now settled that such Regiments as Choose to lessen their Allowance of meat to receive money instead there of to be laid out by the Quartr masters in Vegetables do it upon the following Regulations Instead of one pound and a half of Meat each soldier to draw one pound and a penny lawfull money of New England to be allowed for difference to be paid by Ye Cols. Order and laid out by the Quarter master for the purchase of Vegetables two days Notice to be Given to the Commissary —

Complaints having been made that some of the sold^{rs} Ill Treat the Country People who Come to markett the General most Positively forbids such behaviour and hopes the Officers will exert themselves, to prevent it. Good Policy as well as Justice Demands that they Shall have all possible encouragement as the Health of the Soldiers much Depends upon the Supply of Vegitables those who have been Guilty of such Practices will do well to Consider what will be our Situation this season If we drive off the Country People and break up the Market the healthy will soon be sick and must Perrish for the want of Necessaries, No favour will be shown to any Offender hereafter —

The person who supplied the Camp with bear has represented that he must stop his Business If his Berrills are not return'd, the General therefore Orders that the Colonels of the several Regts. do strictly Charge the Qr masters to take Care of these bear Barrells and prevent their being Cut for Tubs as heretofore an acct will be kept with every Regiment and the deficient Barrills Charged to such Regiments or the Quartermaster if he does not attend to it —

The Commissary General will deliver Pork Barrells to any Regiment who will Apply to him to Cut up into Tubs

Brigade for the day General Spencer

General Greens Orders

The main Guard at fort Green to Consist of 1 Sub one Sert. one Corporal and 27 Privates to be reinforced at Night with a Picquet of a Sert & 10 men — Col Little is desired to attend to Ye Posting the Centries to be posted in fort Box from the main Guard by Day and Night as there will no guard mount there for the

(Page torn out)

such practices Continued will be punished in the most Exemplary manner the General Desires the Officers to bring every Offender to Justice —

Altho the General is taking every Measure in his power to lesson the Duty of the Troops He Nevertheless will deligee the Troops to guard the Peoples property if it Cannot be preserv'd any other way, and as a few Unprincipled Raskells may have it in their power to ruin the Reputation of a Whole Corps of Virtuous men the General Desires Ye Virtuous part to Complain of every Offender that may Detected in invading Peoples property In an unlawfull Manner that often may be put to a practice that cannot fail if continued rendering both officers and Soldiers Obnoxious to Inhabitants —

Head Quarters July 29 1776

The two Companies of Col Newcombs Regt. on Long Island to join their Regiment Immediately — The Chief Engineer finding Great Difficulty in sinking of the well at Bayards Hill for want of Proper workmen is allow'd to select such men from any Regiment first Applying to the

Col. or Commanding Officer, and these men are to be excused from all other Duty —

The Quarter Master General is Directed to furnish 12 Quires of Paper to each Regiment pr month to be Distributed as follows 1 Quire to the Commanding Officer of each Regt. 1 Quire to each Company

1 Quire to the Adjutant, the remaining two Quires to be delivered to the Colonels as reserve for Special Occasions exclusive of Orderly Books and Blank returns furnished as Usual —

Some Difficulties having arisen respecting the men who have Engaged to go on board Gallies out of the Regiments, the General Directs that in future when men are wanted for that service or the like kind, Application to be maid to General Putnam who will Call upon Ye Commanding Officers of Regts. for such men as Are fit for that service having respect to the strength of such Regts. and what it may have furnished heretofore, upon the like service & as the General Flatters himself every Officer will only Attend to what will best serve the General Good He Doubts not they will Encourage their men to turn out as Volenteers such Only being required and that they be men of Approved Fidelity & Courage —

Col. Baldwins and Col. Baileys Regts. to be mustered Next Thursday the former at seven oClock In the morning the latter at 3 oClock in the Afternoon there Corps to be off Duty one Day Previous to their being mustered —

Field Officer for the Day to morrow Col Little Adjt. from Col. Hitchcocks Regt.

Head Quarters July 30th 1776

Parole

Countersn

The Quarter master General is to provide a numr of Canteens as soon as Possible and to have the water in the several Works in Casks examined that they may have A fresh supply if Necessary It is represented to the General that the Pump Water in the City is extreamly unhealthy, The Officers and soldiers are therefore Cautioned Against It and the Quarter master and Commissary General are to Consult together and fix upon some mode of Supply of fresh water for the Troop In the City —

All the Detachments at Kings Bridge and Ye Adjoining

Posts from this Army to join their respective Corps Here except that at Burdels Ferry, and the Carpenters ordered on the 24th Instant A Field Officer 3^s 6^s 6^c 6^d 150^p to parade to morrow at 6 oClock in the morning on the Grand Parade with arms to go up by water & relieve the Party Stationed at Burdles Ferry When they are to take Orders from General Mifflin and to take one Days Provision — Baldwins & Bailey Regiment to be omitted in this Detail on Acct. of their being mustered on Thursday Major Rapley to Command the Guard Ordered the 26 Instant to be mounted from Harrisons Brewery, and to be at Mr. Lyspenards Where a Guard Room is provided for them —

Brigadr for the Day General Spencer
Field Officer for the Day to morrow Lieut Col Henshaw
Adjutant from Col. Littles Regt.

Head Quarters July 31 1776

Parole

Countersign

Ensign Bryant Charged with Embezzling Publick Property having been Tried by a Genl. Court martial whereof Col. Webb was President Is Acquitted of any fraudulent Intentions but Censured by the Court for Indiscretion in Permitting some of the soldiers taking away old Iron. The General Approves the Sentance & Orders him to be Discharged from his arrest It is with astonishment and Concern the Genl. finds the precautions used to prevent the Countersign being known to Any not Intitled are Defeated by Ignorance or misconduct of those to whom it is Intrusted, and in Order that None may Plead Ignorance hereafter Ye Officers and Soldiers are to know that the following Rule is Established —

The Adjutant General at 6 oClock P. M. Will deliver the Parole And Countersign to Ye Major of Brigade and Adjutant. They At retreat beeting and Not before are to deliver them to the Adjutants of their Respective Brigades. The Adjutants are to Deliver them to the field Officers of their respective Brigades if required then to the Officers of the Advanced Guards In and About the Camps Or City —

And the General flatters himself that when the Importance and Necessity of Secrecy Upon this Head is Consid-

ered Every Officer and Soldier will Pride himself in his Fidelity Prudence & Disciplines —

Brigadr for the Day General Ld Sterling Field Officer for Picquit Col. Martin Lt Col. Reed and Major Buck for main Guard Lt. Col. Shephard

Brigade Majr for Ye Day Levingston

General Greens Orders

Field Officer for the Day to morrow Majr Angell Adjutant from Col. Littles Regimt

Head Quarters Aug. 1 76

Parole

Countersign

Col. Gays Regt. of Gen^l Wadsworth Brigade to go over to Long Island to Morrow their to take Orders From Genl. Green—it is with great Consarn that the Genl understands that Jaulouscies are Arrisen Amongest the troops from the Different Provinces Reflections freequently thrown out which Can Only tend to arittate Each Other & Enjure the noble cause in which wee are ingaged and which wee ought to Support with one heart the Genl. Most Earnestly En-treates the Officers & Soldiers to Consider the Consequences that they Can no way Affect our Cruel Enemys more Effectually then making Difference amongst our Selves that the honour & Success of the Army & ye safty of our bleeding Country Depends upon harmony And good agreement with Each other that Ye provinces are all united to oppose the Common Enemys & all Distintions sunk in the Names of an American to make this onarible & preserve the liberty of our Country Ought to be our Only Emulation and he will be the best Soldier & the best Patriot who Contributes most to this Glorious work What Ever his station or from what ever part of the Continent he may come Let all Destintion of Nations Countries & provinces therefore be lost in the Generious Contest who shall behave with the most Courage against the Enemies and the most kindness and good humer to Each Other if there is Any Officer or soldier so lost to vartue & love to their country as to continue such practices after this Order the Genl assures them & is Directed by Congress to Declare to the Whole Army that such persons shall be severly punished & Dismissed the service with Disgrace — Brigader For the Day General Wadsworth Field Officer for the Picquit Colo. Ward

Lieut Colo. Hul & Majr Phileps For Main Guard Lieut
Colo. Jonston Brigade Majr For the Day Gorden

Gen^l Greens Orders

Joseph Barrit of Colo. Hands Regt. Tried at a Garrison
Court Martial Whare of Colo. Little was president for at-
tempting to Desert the Court are of Opinion the Charge is
not supportd he is therefore Ordered to Be Dismisd from
his Confinement. Barney McMerry of Capt Coggshe'll
only Company in Colo. Hitchcocks Regt. tried by the
above Court Martial For Gitting asleep on his post and in-
sulting language And Abusing the Capt of the Guard is
Sentenced to be whip 39 lashes & Drumed out of the Regt.
Camp & army the Genl approves of the above sentance &
orders it to tak place immediately

JOHN H. NICHOLS' REMINISCENCES OF SALEM, WRITTEN IN 1884

FROM THE FRANCIS H. LEE COLLECTION IN THE
ESSEX INSTITUTE

John H. Nichols was the son of George and Sarah (Peirce) Nichols, and was born in Salem, June 12, 1811. He was in the real estate, brokerage and insurance business with his father and brother in Salem, but later lived in New York and Connecticut, and travelled extensively with his family in Europe. His last years were spent in Salem at the Peirce-Nichols house, where he died on November 16, 1898. His wife was Sarah Augusta Leach whom he married in 1835. Miss Charlotte S. Nichols, who occupied the family home, was the last surviving daughter.

South Wilton, Conn. Jany '84

Mr. Francis H. Lee

Salem

Dear Sir

My first recollection of Chestnut Street was in 1816, (when I was five years of age) the foundation of my father's house (No 37) being then laid. Prior to its erection I remember that Jabez Smith, the master carpenter, came to the house then occupied by the family, being the easterly tenement on the corner of Essex and Monroe Streets, (now the residence of the Misses King) and submitted plans, no architect having been employed. The mason work was done by the father of David Roberts, and the painting by a Mr. Cook, one of whose workmen was Mark Kimball, subsequently a partner of Robert Skerry. The land on which the house stands was purchased soon after the close of the war of 1812 to '15, and the cost of the estate was about \$13,500. At that time the easterly half of the upper story was unfinished and there were no blinds on the house. All the wall papers were selected by my uncle Henry Nichols, while in Europe, in the employ, as supercargo, of my father and his brother-in-law, Benjamin Peirce. But the quantity for the eastern parlor, a

landscape, was found insufficient to cover the wall, and my cousin George Ropes, an artist of no inconsiderable merit and distinction, deaf and dumb, was employed to supply the deficiency, which he accomplished so successfully that I never knew anyone to make the discovery of incongruity in the scenery or style of workmanship. My sisters have a large oil painting and I own two marine battle pieces of his, and if I mistake not a large picture representing the landing of William Penn, formerly owned by George S. Johonnot, and bequeathed by him to Philip Chase, (grandfather of Arthur H. Chase) was painted by the same George Ropes.

The premises were occupied by my father until the spring of 1827, when the property fell into the hands of Thomas Perkins of Topsfield, and was then occupied by David Pingree, until he purchased and removed to the house of Capt. Joseph White, on Essex Street, after which the estate was sold to William A. Lander, who expended several thousand dollars in alterations and additions, including the iron fence and brick pavement in front. On the removal of Mr. Lander to his farm in Danvers, the house was closed a considerable time, perhaps a year or two, when I purchased it for \$15,500, in 1845, and it was occupied by me until the spring of '66, the second story having in the meantime been added to the pantry, in which were placed a bathroom and one sleeping room, at a cost of about \$2,000. On leaving Salem I sold the estate to my brother, Charles L., for about \$12,000, and he then removed the two story brick stable of about 20 by 40 feet, which stood on the westerly side of the premises. The only member of my father's family born in Chestnut Street, was my brother, Charles Sanders, on December 24th 1819. Six of my children were born there between the years of 1846 and '57, viz: Clara, November 25, '46, and died February 28th '48; Charles Gray, born March 25th '49, and died Oct. 25th '56; John Willard, born Aug. 14th '51, and died Sept. 9th '52; Charlotte Sanders, born Jan'y 3, '54, now living; Henry born Dec. 7th '55, and died Jan'y 22, '56; Herbert Gray, born June 5th '57, and died June 17th '57.

The lot of land next easterly of No 37 was owned by

the late Judge Putnam, (father of Mrs. Joseph Augustus Peabody, Mrs. Francis B. Crowninshield, Mrs. Thomas P. Bancroft, Samuel, John P. and Dr. Charles G. Putnam) and remained vacant until the brick block was erected thereon by Pickering Dodge, Senior, about the year 1824. The first occupants of that block were, I think, Rev. Charles W. Upham, my uncle Charles Sanders and Pickering Dodge, Jr. The westerly tenement was subsequently occupied by Mrs. Rebecca, widow of Pickering Dodge, Senior, and after her death it was sold to Asahel Huntington. To the best of my recollection the middle tenement was occupied by Pickering Dodge, Jr., after the Sanders left it. Mr. D. having removed from the eastern part (on taking possession of his farm in Swampscott, where he resided several years) when it was taken by John Fiske Allen. On the removal of Mr. Dodge from the middle tenement that portion of the block was purchased by Mr. Greely, and occupied by his family while they resided in Salem, after which it was sold to George P. Osgood.

The lot of land next easterly of Judge Putnam's was that on which the Chestnut Street School house (so called) stood, until purchased by Pickering Dodge, Senior, when the building was removed to the lot directly in the rear, on the southerly side of Green (now Warren) Street. It originally stood 75 feet or more southerly of Chestnut Street, and the avenue to it had a row of Lombardy poplars on the east and west sides. The teachers of that School were Mr. Chandler (afterward senior member of the firm of Chandler, Howard Co., commission merchants on Central Wharf, in Boston) from 1811 to '17; John Braser Davis, the next two years; Mr. Walcott (father of Mrs. Almen, Mrs. Packard and their brothers) and Mr. Walsh, until 1824. I was a pupil of Messrs Davis and Walcott, and among my schoolmates were your father, Pickering Dodge Jr., Jacob Crowninshield, (brother of Richard S. Rogers' first wife) Augustus Choate, (son of the Register of Deeds) Francis Pickman, (brother of Mrs. Walcott) Benjamin Tucker, (nephew of Ichabod) J. Ingersoll, Henry I. and Charles Bowditch, Dr. John G. Treadwell, Charles G. Putnam and Joseph Osgood, John P. and William Andrews, George Wheatland, John and

Henry W. Pickering, Richard P. and Horace Jenks, Edward Hodges, (George [J?] Sanders, then spelt Saunders) George H. Devereux, John Phillis, (afterward Clark, nephew of Charles Clark, one of the most active trustees of the Salem Athaeneum) my brother George Nichols and cousin Benjamin Peirce, Professor of mathematics in Harvard College.

The lot on which stands the mansion of Pickering Dodge, Senior, afterward of Stephen C. Phillips, William P. Peirce and Joseph S. Cabot, was, I think, owned by Ichabod Tucker, until about 1820, and perhaps a year or two later. The house was erected about 1822, by Mr. Dodge, David Lord being contractor for the carpenter work. When owned by Mr. Phillips a considerable addition was made to the house. It is my impression that Mr. Peirce paid \$20,000 for the estate, and after his death I, as administrator, sold it to John F. Allen for about \$13,000 and he sold it to Mr. Cabot for \$15,000.

The house on westerly corner of Pickering Street was built by Dudley L. Pickman two years or more before that of Mr. Dodge, Jabez Smith being employed as the carpenter. I presume you are aware that Mr. Barstow's house was formerly owned and occupied by Hon. John Pickering, that of the late Robert Stone by Pickering Dodge, Senior, that of Dr. Mack by Henry Pickering, (brother of John) and afterward by my uncle Benjamin Peirce, (father of Professor P.) that now or recently owned by Ezekiel Goss was formerly the residence of Solomon Towne and Jere L. Page, (father of Professor Charles Page, of Washington) that of Mrs. Sarah Neal was owned and occupied by the widow of James King (stepmother of Hon. John Glen King.) On the site of Willard P. Phillips' house there formerly stood a small wooden building, which was occupied as a grocery store by an odd mortal named Moses Smith, whom the boys called 'tater Moses. He was probably more knave than fool, and seemed to delight in taking advantage of his boy customers.

The house recently owned and occupied by Mrs. Malvina T. Ward was originally of two stories, and situated in Peabody, or South Danvers, (as then called) from which place it was removed by Nathaniel West, in two parts,

near the year 1824. When removed the two sections were so placed as to leave room for the hall between them, and the third story was added over the whole. The expense of removal and refitting, together with the additions probably amounted to as much as a new brick house would have cost. The first occupant was my uncle Charles Sanders, then William Pickman and his sister L. Rawlins, while their house on Essex Street was being built by Daniel Bancroft, who was subsequently partner of Oliver Thayer, in the lumber business. The next tenant was Frederick Howes, (father of Mrs. Cabot, Miss Elizabeth and William B. Howes). The land on which this house and that next westerly stood was purchased by Mr. West of the Rev. Brown Emerson and the widow Sarah Holmes, grandmother of Mrs. John Bertram.

The history of most of the other estates on the northerly side of Chestnut Street, you are probably familiar with, but if any information is desired, which I can furnish, it will afford me pleasure to give it, on hearing from you.

As respects the dinners to distinguished persons, given in Hamilton Hall, I now recollect only those to Dr. Bowditch, at the time he left Salem, and to the Marquis Lafayette, in the autumn of 1824, at which my grandfather, Ichabod Nichols, was present, and on being introduced as a Revolutionary soldier he was affectionately embraced by the Marquis. Of assemblies, as they were called, balls, receptions and important fairs, held in the Hall, your mother can doubtless give a much better account than I could. The two prominent dancing masters within my recollection were Mr. Parks, whose school in the supper room I attended, and Mr. Lorenzo Papanti.

When a boy I was given the following account of the original laying out of Chestnut Street. At the time it was proposed to open the street, the owners of land on one side were unwilling to contribute their proportion and it was then made of half its present width by those on the opposite side, who left a narrow strip, with a wall standing upon it, so that the recusant abutters should not be benefitted by the new street. When, however, at a later period the latter were willing to part with a portion of their land as first contemplated their proposition was rejected,

and they then made another street of the same width, leaving the wall in the center. On the erection of some house, Captain Phillips', I think, each of the workmen employed received a certain stipulated sum for carrying away a stone from the wall every time he left work, until the whole were removed, and thus the street became double the width originally designed. Whether this account be true or merely a legend you may perhaps be able to ascertain, but the fact that the building situated easterly of Hamilton Hall, when occupied by Moses Smith, stood considerably farther north than the present house, may give some plausibility to the story.

Your very truly,
John H. Nichols.

J. B. CHISHOLM'S REMINISCENCES OF SALEM,
WRITTEN IN 1885.

FROM THE FRANCIS H. LEE COLLECTION IN THE
ESSEX INSTITUTE

Boston, Feb. 6, 1885.

Francis H. Lee Esq.,
Salem.

Your letter of the 5th is received. If anything could surprise me, to be interviewed in relation to Chestnut Street, Salem, is the thing. Since I do not remember to have even stood in the street beyond the South Church, where I worshiped, except once, on the formation of a political procession there, under the shade trees, in Aug. 1834, when Mr. Webster walked to the Common and addressed a large assemblage.

Yet somehow, it may be a remarkable coincidence with your letter, the name of that street and its past occupants has haunted my mind within a few weeks. The marriage of Dr. George West of your city, son of my earliest friend the late George West, to a granddaughter of the late senior Leverett Saltonstall stimulated my brain on old relations of persons and things in Salem. Mr. Saltonstall was acknowledged head of exclusive Society in Salem, and as you know dwelt in Chestnut Street, and you cannot help knowing that there was a so-called aristocratic element, by no means insolent but socially conservative, from about 1805 to 1830 or 1835, and for all I have the means of knowing it continues to this day. It was quite marked then and Hamilton Hall with its assemblies, was the touch stone or dividing line. Here gathered on fête occasions the Derbys, Pickmans, their correlatives, and others whose names you recall as denizens of Chestnut Street, and the images of many of whom in later years are as real to my mind as persons now present; for instance William Pickman, bachelor, whose daily staid noon walk of an hour in what is now Lafayette Street, but then Marblehead road unpaved sidewalk lined with stone walls, and only eight houses between the present junction of Washington with Lafayette Street and the Marblehead line of Forest River;

the quietest appearing man you need look at, but with an eye that reaches you through, if you met his gaze; Col. Benjamin Pickman was another of their daily promenaders or saddle riders; Joseph Peabody, saddle rider, on a stately war-horse with a shot hole in his back having been ridden by General Knox in the war of 1812. Capt. P. rode him till he broke down one day in South Salem with the weight of his bulky rider, then stalled him to the end of his days.

The Greek Scholar, Lynde Oliver and his namesake poor crazy Peter Oliver were also daily trampers in this their secluded region. This is worthless gossip and not to your purpose. George West, grandfather of Dr. George, was a thrifty man, absorbed in business, having elevated his trade of cooper into a commercial branch, loading his own vessels with merchandise which had passed through his mechanical warehouse, mainly the products of Marblehead, Sandy Bay now Rockport and other fishing towns. He was an excellent and friendly man, beneficent to a host of less prosperous and in many instances widowed relatives, emphasizing that proverb of Solomon, which says, "The good man is ever merciful and lendeth (or giveth), and his seed is blessed". His son George, early initiated into commercial transactions, sending adventures in his father's or other vessels, had acquired a little fortune at 22 or 23 years of age, which by the time of his death at 40, he had increased to the present independence of his heirs. He was the purest, mildest, most unpretending, yet wisest, especially evinced in hints to his youthful friends, I ever knew, and withal firm, stedfast and unchanging with the diverging paths of life. I have thus given the earlier social aspects of the lately united houses, but it must be regarded as private. West and Saltonstall, of rugged South Fields and courtly Chestnut Street.

I might give you a characteristic anecdote of Hamilton Hall and the Assemblies that got into my ear near 70 years ago, and yet was never before uttered. It will show the manners, etiquette, sensitiveness and indeed necessities of wood fires etc. of three generations ago. A young and attractive lady, not of Chestnut Street, with her prosperous husband, became connected with the Assemblies

say 80 years ago. The hall was warmed neither by steam nor coal, but by wood fire around which the ladies sat. The young lady left her chair for a moment, when it was instantly occupied by Mrs. Hersey D. without permission or apology, which was talked of as an arrogant infringement of the etiquette of such an assembly. The young lady died recently at great age and in comparative affluence.

With the array of correspondence you profess your indebtedness to me in this connection, I stand abashed in my ignorance and want of preparation. I will only add a sketch of an interview of no doubt the greatest man your town claimed of its own, Col. Timothy Pickering. Mr. Pickering was familiar to my sight in his striding walks in his landed possessions and pasture for his cattle at Pickering's Point in South Salem. Stopping often to converse with my father he noticed a native cow and desired to be informed at her breeding time if the calf was of the right sex, as he might want to raise it. When this happy event arrived, I being thirteen years old, was commissioned as ambassador to announce to Gen. Washington's Secretary of State, Secretary of War, and Postmaster General, that the calf was at his disposal. He lived in a two story brick house in a short street that crosses the head of Chestnut Street. Seated on the sofa in his continental costume of small clothes, black silk stockings and silver shoe buckles, he surveyed the ambassador just as he had citizen Genet years before, and replied that he would take order in the matter, with profound consideration for the other party. You may see a man many times in public or on the street but to observe him in his own, considering his great past, humble room, fixes him and his circumstances in the memory.

Respectfully yours,

John B. Chisholm.

Boston, Feb. 14, 1885.

Francis H. Lee, Esq.

Sir:

On reading your letter more carefully, I perceive that my rough notes sent you on Saturday 7th, must have disappointed you. They noted merely the social progress of old Salem, the union of household or families once separated by a decided social bar. This may be regarded as the first inroad upon the exclusive circle recognized as existing in Salem, with no enmity or jealousy on either side, but which social division lends the interest in your forthcoming Sketch book that will make it acceptable and valuable as a contribution to local social history.

The number and character of your correspondents, some of whom I have known, leaves me no room to add to their stores of information. I shall look with pleasant anticipation for the appearance of your volume if it is intended for publication. The only item in my last that I deem worthy of your notice, is my sketch of the great statesman, Col. T. Pickering, at home in his small darkened, almost dingy parlor 60 odd years ago. It cannot be, however, but you have more suitable notices of that most distinguished denizen of the Chestnut Street neighborhood.

My recollection of the Chestnut Street gentlemen is of an agreeable character. Though dwelling remote from the scene of your sketchings, and you know Salem is an extremely localized place, the inhabitants of one ward or hamlet, except in the East part, not often encountering each other. As for customs, living always in South Salem, I should hardly know my way in North Salem, never saw Witch Hill or knew its location, yet Chestnut Street was acknowledged to be an admirable addition to the town, and the enterprise of its founders or builders was spoken of as commendable in improving what by nature was a swampy section and making it one of the most beautiful parts of the old town. My first observation of its accomplished citizens was as members of the School Committee in their visits and examinations of the Latin Grammar School when I was between nine and thirteen years old.

The patience and interest of these gentlemen in the examination of the youngest boy, as well as his seniors in

the classes, though their own sons were in the Proprietors' School, presided over by Mr. John Walsh, showed that they were actuated by an earnest public spirit. To have seen ten or twelve of these gentlemen sitting for hours in a semi-circle on the brick stove-hearth and uncarpeted, not over nice floor of the little old Latin School, book in hand, earnestly attending to the recitation of boys nine or ten sitting close together on long rough benches without backs, often interposing questions and even inquiring the names and parentage of the boys, is not to be forgotten. Among the boys might be your friend John H. Nichols, A. A. Low of Brooklyn, N. Y., poor Frank Knapp, and among the Committee John and Henry Pickering, E. Savage, John Glen King, L. Saltonstall, B. R. Nichols, Judge D. A. White; perhaps as a visitor Col. Pickering himself. From these scenes I early acquired an admiration for that class of gentlemen which after observation only strengthened.

Respectfully,
J. B. Chisholm.

P. S. I had once thrown aside my pencil sketch of the South Meeting House in Chestnut Street, but the possibility of its being suggestive to you induces me to enclose it with this.

HISTOIRE ET DESCRIPTION

DAGUERRETYPE

et du Diorama.

PAR DAGUERRE,

Peintre, inventeur du Diorama, Officier de la Légion d'Honneur,
membre de plusieurs Académies, etc.

Renée Colson,

IMPRIMERIE, ET AUCUNEMENT DE PORTRAITS EN L'ARTS.

1839

Paris,

ALPHONSE GIRAUX ET C^{ie}, ÉDITEURS.

104, rue de la Harpe, au-dessus, n^o 1.

où se fabriquent les Appareils!

ET CHEZ LES ORFÈVRES, LIBRAIRES, ÉCRIVAINS.

Marchands d'Estampes et d'Objets.

1839



Daguerre

TITLE PAGE AND FRONTPISPIECE OF DAGUERRE'S DESCRIPTION OF THE DAGUERREOTYPE, 1839

First Edition - Second Issue with portrait

From the Author's collection

DAGUERREOTYPES IN AMERICA

BY EDWARD DALAND LOVEJOY

To the average person, a daguerreotype is any early photographic process surrounded by a gilt mat and generally inclosed in a leather case. There are, however, three distinct processes of early photography; the Daguerreotype, invented by Daguerre in 1839; the Ambrotype which became popular in the late forties; and the Ferrotpe which finally decreased in size until it reached the dimensions of a postage stamp and was called a Tin-type.

The daguerreotype was taken on a copper plate which was silver plated and treated with bromide and iodide fumes; when viewing it, the silver tends to make a mirror refraction unless held at the proper angle.

The ambrotype was a glass plate coated with collodion which underwent the same treatment as the daguerreotype. The plate was then a negative; a backing of asphaltum or black plush was placed behind the plate which reversed the lights and shades; this also tends to mirror but only in a slight degree as might be expected of any sheet of glass.

The ferrotpe is a thin sheet of tin, coated with varnished collodion. In the early ferrotypes, the image is reversed. The daguerreotypes and ambrotypes were mounted with an embossed gilt metal mat and enclosed in a leather case lined with plush; the ferrotypes, being much less expensive, had to be content with only the gilt mat as some of these were taken for as little as twenty-five cents a piece.

The public interest in Daguerre's discovery was very great and as soon as the invention was given to the world by a paper read by Arago in August, 1839, before The Academy of Sciences in Paris, the news spread to America and a number of men began experimenting with the new invention especially in New York where Samuel Finley Breese Morse, who had met Daguerre in Paris, was among the foremost. In the fall of 1839, M. Francois Gouraud, came over from Paris to give a course of lectures on the new process, bringing with him the most approved apparatus and a number of pictures taken by Daguerre and his followers. The lectures and exhibition were a great suc-

cess and in March, 1840, he came to Boston where he was very enthusiastically received. Later, he published a pamphlet, "A Description of the Daguerreotype Process, or a Summary of M. Gouraud's Public Lectures, according to the Principles of Daguerre with a description of a provisory method for taking Human Portraits."

The "Provisory Method" is almost as long as the title of the pamphlet but is of interest to compare with the candid camera of today. He says: "In the first place, you will begin by preparing a room exposed to the sun, the southeast if possible. You will give to this room the form of a truncated pyramid lying down, of which the base will be the whole breadth of the window which window you will make as large as possible, and extending from the floor to the ceiling. The floor, the ceiling and the two sides of the room should be plastered with the whitest kind of lime plaster. Those who cannot dispose a room in this manner, can fix the sides of the room with sheets or other cloth of perfect whiteness. The focus of the room must be covered with a tapestry of white cotton, with knotted or raised figures, which is designed from the drape; those are always agreeable to the eye, and should always be shown with interior views. The chair in which the person sits must be of yellow wood. The person, if a man, must be dressed in a clear grey coat; pantaloons of a little deeper hue; a vest of a fancy ground; yellow, orange, if possible, with figures of a color to make a contrast; the whiteness of the shirt contrasting with a cravat of a gray ground either a little less dark or more deep than the coat. The toilet of the lady should be of the same shades, and in all case, black must be constantly avoided, as well as green or red."

Add to this the clamp at the back of the head, the uncomfortable chair, the long exposure and the effort to hold the eyes steady, and we get some idea of what the sitters underwent to have the daguerreotypes taken, which we cherish today.

Portraits were attempted at this time by a number of scientific men, among them being Morse, Prof. John W. Draper, E. A. Wolcott and others. By the end of 1840, the method had been much improved and Daguerreotype

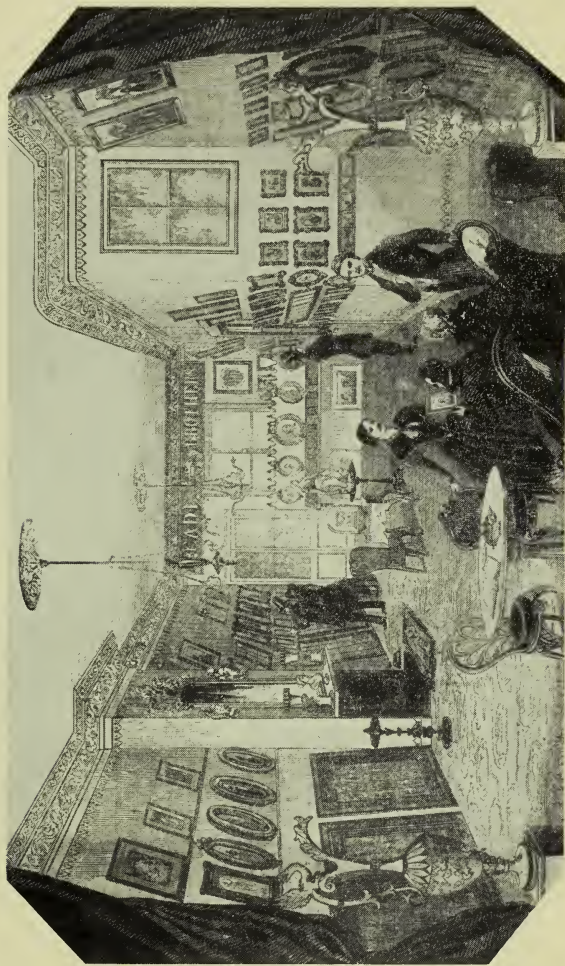


ILLUSTRATION FROM GLEASON'S PICTORIAL AND DRAWING ROOM COMPANION, 1853

From the Author's collection

Galleries began to appear; in 1841, there were six in Boston and a larger number in New York and "skylight pictures" were advertised in the news.

Although daguerreotypes were very popular and the public flocked to the galleries to have their portraits taken, it could not entirely escape ridicule. "Punch," which first appeared in 1841, published an article in Vol. XII, headed "Photographic Failure." They said, "One of the advantages or disadvantages, as the case may be, of many photographic portraits, is, that they fade away by degrees, and thus keep pace with those fleeting impressions or feelings under which it is sometimes usual for one to ask another for his or her miniature. The art is warranted to retain its outline throughout a flirtation of an entire month's duration." It goes on to state that "We had our own portrait taken by the cheap process a short time ago"; at the end of the article is the pathetic ballad, beginning:

"Behold thy portrait! day by day
I've seen its features die;
First the moustachios go away,
Then off the whiskers fly —"

Ridicule however, had no effect on stopping the advance of photography and as improvements were made the whiskers stayed on.

By 1850, the daguerreotype artists of America were the acknowledged leaders in the art and at the World's Fair in London in 1851, were awarded the first prize for their exhibitions.

The prices now became more settled and a portrait cost from \$1.50 to \$15.00, according to size, the largest plate being 13 x 14 inches. The popular size was $2\frac{3}{4}$ x 3 inches and sold for \$2.00 or \$3.00.

Of the early daguerreotypists some are outstanding for the excellence of their work. Possibly the most outstanding is M. B. Brady, whose studio was in New York City on Broadway, near Prince Street. He not only made portraits of the national characters of the early 60's but also sent out wagons with photographic apparatus which followed the Army from place to place.

Gurney also enjoyed considerable reputation and his

work is now considered the finest specimens in existence. Meade Bros., was another well known name; their studio occupied the second floor of the Astor House, the largest gallery in New York. They also had the further distinction of being the only photographers to have taken a portrait of Daguerre himself.

Of the Boston Galleries, that of Southworth & Hawes is possibly the best known. It was located at 19 Tremont Row and was still presided over by Mr. Hawes as late as 1896, who hoped that some day the art might be revived and again become popular.

The earliest Daguerreotype artist to be listed in Salem is David W. Bowdoin, who advertised as a daguerreotypist at 289 Essex Street in 1846; later he moved to 241 Essex Street and, in 1857, transferred his business to Boston.

Joshua W. Moulton opened a gallery about 1850 at 182 Essex Street, later moving to the Ropes Building at 241 Essex Street, where he advertised an ambrotype, daguerreotype and photographic gallery.

One other name of a daguerreotypist is well known, that of Holgrave, who lived in the House of the Seven Gables but no examples of his work have come down to us.

BOOK REVIEWS

ROGER CONANT, A FOUNDER OF MASSACHUSETTS. By Clifford K. Shipton. 1944. 171 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. Price, \$3.00.

Mr. Shipton has given us something that has been long needed — a first class biography of the founding father of Salem, Roger Conant. He depicts Conant as settler, manager for the Dorchester Company, organizer of the Salem church, planter, selectman, jurymen, judge and surveyor. Moving from Plymouth to Cape Ann and then to Salem, two years before Endecott and four years before Winthrop set foot on the shores of Massachusetts, he with a few other planters built their rude houses and sat themselves down in this wilderness determined to make a permanent settlement. Through all the hardships of those first two years, the greatest proof of his character was shown. Mr. Shipton shows Roger Williams, who was driven from Salem, to have been considerable of a bigot and his contention that Conant and the other Puritans were the real liberals will be commended by historians who know the facts. Mr. Shipton has done a remarkable job in bringing to life the earliest days of Massachusetts. He has drawn freely from the Essex County Quarterly Court Records which are the most complete of any similar records in the country and which were published by the Essex Institute several years ago. He has left no stone unturned to discover facts about the early settlement and has woven them together in such a way as to make history popular reading. His occasional comparison between those times and the present are both entertaining and enlightening. The book is a scholarly piece of reconstruction, as might be expected from Mr. Shipton, and it is to be hoped that he will delve still further into Massachusetts history with as great success as his present venture. A full index completes the book. This is a must for all historical libraries and for all who like to read the truth backed up by facts.

TREATY PORTS. By Hallett Abend. 1944. 271 pp., octavo, cloth. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc. Price, \$3.00.

This author, who spent thirteen years in China previous to the war with Japan, and was brutally attacked by the Japanese in his office, thereby losing all his manuscripts, in-

cluding, unfortunately, a biography of Frederick Townsend Ward of Salem, has added another to his already long list of authoritative books on the Far East. He writes "Since it was our national policies toward China and Chinese affairs which finally and inevitably precipitated the Japanese attack upon Pearl Harbor and dragged the United States reluctantly into the second World War, those who relish a mystic interpretation of history may delight in reading a certain symbolism into the fact that it was George Washington, who signed the appointment for the first American consul ever to go to China" — Samuel Shaw, in 1786. This history of the policies and politics of the Far East with the United States Government is worth reading and Mr. Abend has given not only his own views but he has produced facts and figures to corroborate his statements. Recommended to all interested in the affairs of China and to the general public. A full index is provided.

COACHING ROADS OF OLD NEW ENGLAND, THEIR INNS AND TAVERNS. By George Francis Marlowe. 1945. 200 pp. small octavo, cloth, illus. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, \$3.50.

This fascinating little book, with most artistic drawings by the author, will be welcomed by all who love New England, for in no way can strangers know this part of the country better than by travelling some of the old coaching roads. The book is small, but the author has covered about all of New England, recalling anecdotes of Revolutionary days, of historic taverns, of smugglers, patriots and mail carriers. The last chapter includes the Newburyport and Portsmouth road, featuring Lynn, Salem, with its Peabody Museum and Essex Institute, Ipswich, Rowley, Newbury and Newburyport. End papers show an excellent map of the places mentioned. Mr. Marlowe is a professional architect, having served in the offices of Peabody and Stearns and Andrews, Jaques and Rantoul, but later practising independently. An ideal book for a gift. Recommended to all libraries.

FATHER THEOBALD MATHEW, APOSTLE OF TEMPERANCE. By Rev. Patrick Rogers. 1945. 166 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 55 Fifth Avenue. Price, \$2.50.

Father Mathew was a militant leader in the total abstinence crusade in the middle of the nineteenth century, both in

this country and Great Britain, and as such exerted a tremendous influence among the early Irish immigrants. Father Rogers has done a distinct service in bringing out this new biography which supplements and corrects many errors in the previous biography published eighty years ago. Gladstone once wrote: "What a character you have shown us in its simplicity, its earnestness, its deep devotion and, above all, in that boundless love which caused him to show forth in deed and trust the beauty of holiness." Father Mathew visited Salem in 1849, and later a statue was erected by his followers which still stands on the Immaculate Conception Church grounds. Unfortunately the diaries of his American tour are missing, but the societies founded in his honor did valiant service up to within recent times. Recommended to all libraries.

THE TOWN THAT SAVED A STATE. WESTERLY. Written during the Rhode Island Tercentenary in 1936 for the Westerly Rhode Island Committee. By Mary Agnes Best. 1943. 283 pp., octavo, cloth. Westerly, R. I.: The Utter Company.

The author of this interesting history of a typical Rhode Island town died before the book could be published. Ida M. Tarbell wrote a brief biography of this extraordinary woman author and Martha B. Finley has added her testimonial of the luminous personality of Miss Best. Finally the local Historical Society succeeded in raising funds to give the book to the public in its present form. From the first chapter, which tells of the beginnings of this frontier town, to the last, which depicts the terrific hurricane of 1938 when Westerly lost nearly one-thousand houses stretched along the twelve miles of waterfront, the book reflects the brilliant mind that wrote it. There is a good index. Recommended to all libraries.

MAGNA CHARTA. Part III. Continuing the Pedigrees of the Barons. By John S. Wurts. 1944. 619 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Philadelphia, Pa.: Brookfield Publishing Company. Price, \$5.00.

This volume is a continuation of Parts I and II. It contains additional pedigrees of the Barons, brief historical sketches of the events of the times, and biographical sketches of the ancestors with their occupations and personalities. Considering ancient sources "it is disappointing to find that

the bards and monks and other contemporary historians do not agree in many of their details. Dates and places have often been too meagerly preserved to enable one now to form a fixed opinion as to the integrity of many early pedigrees." Mr. Wurts has selected the most logical items from this material. Coats-of-arms are well illustrated and described. There is an index.

THE
ESSEX INSTITUTE
HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

VOL. LXXXI — JULY, 1945

ISSUED QUARTERLY



SALEM, MASS.

PRINTED FOR THE ESSEX INSTITUTE

Essex Institute Historical Collections

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The HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS are published quarterly in January, April, July and October, each volume containing a complete index. Yearly subscription, \$3.00. The Essex Institute disavows responsibility for the positions taken by contributors to its pages.

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PARLOR OF THE PINGREE HOUSE

ESSEX INSTITUTE

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

VOL. LXXXI

JULY, 1945

No. 3

FURNITURE IN THE ESSEX INSTITUTE COLLECTION

BY NORMAN SHEPARD RICE

The Essex Institute has many extensive collections representing the entire scope of early American cultural attainment and refinement. The collection, however, which has superceded all others is the furniture collection consisting of many fine examples, particularly of the eighteenth century when Chippendale and his two contemporaries Hepplewhite and Sheraton reigned supreme over the cabinet makers world. Many of the pieces were given to the Institute while others have been acquired through purchase.

Man, from prehistoric times, has been attempting continually to reduce the hardships of life through the acquirement of varied implements. At first necessity demanded weapons for survival; this attained, man naturally turned to the dwelling, the center of future life, and there the rudiments of the arts were developed. One may not say that the art of the cabinet maker is as great as that of the sculptor or painter but, nevertheless, the skill in which fine proportions have been combined with strength and durability by the great craftsmen of the eighteenth century has proved that this art deserves a high place in the estimation of man.

In the study of styles in American furniture, it is quite natural that we look to England as a source from which American styles were derived. Our forefathers who landed on these northern shores in 1620 were English; therefore small communities were established which resembled, as far as possible, those of England. About 1650, living conditions became more stabilized and more attention was given to the home and its furnishings. The few

essential household necessities brought from England by the settlers and the furniture imported at a later date were English. The cabinet makers who began their profession here or those who crossed the Atlantic worked in the English style. There were other settlements in America besides the English; for instance, in New York, the Dutch styles were used by the local cabinet makers because of the influence of the Dutch settlement there.

Naturally, it is impossible to delineate all the furniture in the 17th century and the first half of the 18th century in the Institute collection but a few outstanding pieces are most deserving of mention. Probably the oldest authentic piece and the one which attracts more particular attention is the court cupboard in the Jacobean period. This unusual piece is constructed of oak as this was the favored wood of the 17th century. This cupboard is decorated with geometric designs and with applied split spindles. By tradition, John Putnam brought this interesting piece from England about 1640 and it is truly an excellent example of the Jacobean period in England and America. It was acquired by bequest of Harriet Putnam Fowler of Danvers. Also in the same style there is a turned settee brought from Normandy in 1686 by the Huguenots. It is an outstanding piece because of the original Turkey-work covering. This particular covering is interesting because it is one of the very early methods used to upholster furniture, being made on the same principals as needlework, a coarse worsted being used for the embroidery. This piece came from the estate of John Appleton. Another piece of the same period is an oak wainscot chair brought from England in 1634 by the Dennis Family. This was one of the most important pieces of furniture in the 17th century and, incidentally, it is the first accession of the Essex Institute. It is constructed of oak and is also decorated with geometric designs as is the court cupboard. This piece was the gift of Robert Brookhouse.

With the conclusion of the Jacobean style, we enter the William and Mary period which began in 1688 and ended in 1702. In England, as well as in America, this was a most important period because of the introduction of Dutch motifs which affected furniture designs



HIGHBOY OF BURLED WALNUT

Gift of Miss E. M. Nowell

throughout a great part of the 18th century. Representing this period is a magnificent highboy of burled walnut with six legs and flat serpentine stretchers. It is an interesting fact that the highboy originated in this period. At first the highboys were imported from England until about 1700, when American cabinet makers began to manufacture them here. The highboy had a brief existence of about one hundred years ending with the conclusion of the Chippendale styles. This particular highboy was a gift of Miss E. M. Nowell and is on display in the Institute. One of the most desirable pieces of American antique furniture is the lowboy in the William and Mary style, which follows the same pattern as that of the highboy. From the bequest of Miss Eleanor Hassam, the Institute has in its collection a lowboy in this style. As walnut was the preferred wood of the period, this piece is constructed of that material and instead of the usual six legs, it has only four with two finials representing the two center legs which were omitted during the latter part of the period. Connecting the four legs are diagonal serpentine stretchers. The brasses on this piece are of the tear-drop type which were first used in this period.

In the year 1702, Anne became Queen of England and the furniture styles which were developed during her reign bear her name and were predominantly Dutch in feeling. The Queen Anne period lasted from 1702 to 1714, but these styles continued to be popular until the middle of the 18th century. The Institute has very few pieces representing this period; there are several highboys and lowboys which are constructed of walnut, this wood having been popular until about 1725. These pieces differ from those of the William and Mary style in that they have four slender cabriole legs in lieu of the six turned legs. The stretchers are also omitted in these particular pieces.

The periods which follow the Queen Anne style are the most popular in the study of antique furniture. They are named for the three outstanding cabinet makers of the last half of the 18th century, Chippendale, Hepplewhite and Sheraton. The Institute has many excellent examples of furniture made in the styles of these three well-known cabinet makers, and the majority of pieces pertaining to

these three periods are located in the Pingree House which is owned by the Institute. In discussing the style of Chippendale, it is well to bear in mind that it may be divided into four periods: Dutch, Gothic, Chinese and French. In America, the Dutch and Gothic styles were more popular than the other two and this period reached its greatest popularity in this country between 1755 and 1785. Chippendale did not develop a style of his own as he made use of styles prevalent during the Queen Anne period. He, however, made many changes, particularly in the chair. As an example, the cabriole leg was terminated with a claw and ball foot instead of the Dutch pad foot; the top rail was shaped in the form of a cupid's bow and the pierced splat in the back was derived from the extremely popular urn shaped back of the preceding period. In the Shaw Memorial bedroom in the Pingree House, there is a set of fine mahogany Chippendale chairs in the French style, circa 1765; these chairs are unusual because of the voluted arms with cabriole supports. The backs are composed of the Chinese patterned splat and are upholstered in green and blue brocatelle. Being of such an unusual design, these chairs are of course extremely rare. The back bedroom of the Pingree House is furnished almost entirely in the Chippendale style. For instance, there is a set of early Chippendale chairs with the conventional cupid's bow top rail and pierced splat. These have the cabriole legs terminated with finely carved claw and ball feet. The most outstanding piece is a chest of drawers with a reversed serpentine front; this chest is constructed of mahogany with the usual four drawers and claw and ball feet. There is also a well proportioned Chippendale arm chair in this room. This is supported with straight legs and is covered with light blue Toile de Jouy, the design of the covering consisting of eagles, shields and flowers, representing the patriotic feeling of the Federal period.

Although Hepplewhite did not have Chippendale's sense of proportion, both in England and America, he proved very popular and it can easily be seen that he developed many of his more popular pieces after designs originated by the Adams Brothers. This is the reason why so many of the Hepplewhite designs are delicate in form and construction. After his death in 1786, the business was carried on by his widow and it was she who published his



SECRETARY IN THE MUSEUM OF THE ESSEX INSTITUTE,
ATTRIBUTED TO THE APPLETONS ABOUT 1807

book, "The Cabinet Maker and Upholsterer's Guide," so popular among furniture students. The Institute is fortunate in having in its collection some very fine examples of furniture in the Hepplewhite style. There are several sets of chairs representing the various designs used by this cabinet maker. One group is outstanding because of the Prince of Wales feather motif carved on the central splat. The shield back and the straight tapering legs are also utilized in these chairs. In the same category there is an unusual sofa covered in striped blue brocade. The design of this sofa is very graceful because of the delicate shield shaped back and tapering straight legs which give an appearance of great beauty. There are other pieces of furniture in the Hepplewhite style in the collections, chests of drawers, secretaries and card tables. One of the secretaries, which is surmounted by a carved eagle and is well proportioned, was made by John Appleton of Salem. From the illustration one may see the fine patina that only age can produce and the brasses and finials are typical of the Hepplewhite style.

In designating the style of Sheraton, we immediately visualize furniture of rectangular proportions with inlaid decorations. Sheraton is considered by some to have been the most outstanding of the three great English cabinet-makers. This fact is realized when one considers that Sheraton combined strength with beauty, a faculty not developed by his two contemporaries. As with Chippendale and Hepplewhite, the style of Sheraton is based upon a book of designs called "The Cabinet Maker and Upholsterer's Drawing Book."

In the Shaw Memorial bedroom in the Pingree House, there are several excellent pieces of furniture in the Sheraton style. The Elias Hasket Derby dressing table is unique both from a structural as well as an historic viewpoint. This piece is constructed of mahogany with satinwood veneer. An unusual feature of the dressing table is a circular mirror supported by scrolled braces resting upon a series of three small drawers. Another beautiful piece of furniture in this room is the mahogany reeded four post tester bed, circa 1807. The posts are turned, reeded and tapered. The tester is made of white enameled wood with gilt lines and small sheafs of wheat on the center panels. As with all periods previously mentioned, there are many

other fine examples in this style but of course in an article of this length only a very few of the finest pieces can be described.

Following the "golden age of English furniture," there were very few pieces produced comparable with those of the preceding periods. During the Empire and succeeding styles, furniture has little of artistic value, therefore only a few pieces have been preserved for exhibition purposes.

It might prove interesting to mention here the three type rooms which attract so much attention in the museum of the Institute. There is a kitchen throughout which one finds the usual collection of furnishings used in the early settler's home, including the fireplace complete with a spit and jack, bellows and fire dogs. A cupboard is well filled with pewter and wooden dishes adding much charm to the homelike atmosphere of this room. The bedroom is resplendent with its trundle bed and the interesting bed-hangings found thereon. The small parlor is a fine example of the New England parlor of about 1800; this room has a McIntire mantel showing the carved eagle in the center panel; the andirons and other decorations are interesting and in one corner stands a spinet which was made by Samuel Blythe of Salem, in 1789; this is supposedly the first spinet made in this country and is a most pleasing addition to this charming room.

On the first floor of the Institute stands an old organ made in 1827 by George D. Hook of Salem at the age of twenty years. This model creates much comment from visitors. It demonstrates a great deal of ingenuity and creative talent and recently it has been renovated and put in playing condition. This organ was first used in Boston churches and was the first Harvard Church Organ. It has been in active service for a total of seventy-one years and today its tone is still amazingly pleasant and clear. It is made of walnut and still retains its ornate decorations of mouldings and gilt pipes. The Essex Institute considers this one of its prize possessions.

These few pieces have given a very brief introduction to the furniture at the Essex Institute. It may easily be seen that the articles comprise an excellent collection representing the styles found in the study of American furniture.

JOHN WISE: THE FATHER OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

BY PAUL SIMPSON McELROY

In March, 1633, thirteen men settled in what is now Ipswich, Massachusetts. The next year a church was gathered, being the ninth in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The fact that these people were destitute of a minister was sufficient reason for the Governor (Winthrop) to travel the thirty miles along the Indian trails on foot from Boston to Ipswich. As a result of this trip the Governor arranged for the Reverend Nathaniel Ward to come over from England in 1634 to become their first minister.

A church whose sparsely settled parish extended for nearly ten miles in every direction would ordinarily be greatly handicapped in attendance, but the settlers who built along the Chebacco section of Ipswich thought but little of travelling from five to ten miles each way on Sundays to their place of worship. Although the very earliest of these settlers who had fled from persecution in England thought little of the long trip to and from church, their children were less inclined to make so great a sacrifice to enjoy religious services. The result was a growing tendency among the younger people to tarry at home on the Sabbath. It was probably concern over this situation, as well as the fact that the Chebacco section of Ipswich was by 1676 sufficiently prosperous to support a church, that made the Chebacco residents want to establish a church of their own.

A consultation was arranged between the town officials of Ipswich and the residents of the Chebacco parish and at this meeting, says the record,

the inhabitants of Chebacco, considering the great straits they were in, for want of the means of grace among themselves, unanimously agreeing, and drawing up a petition and presented it to the towne of Ipswich, at a publick towne meeting, which was to desire of the towne that they might have liberty to call a minester to preach among themselves but the towne would not grant it, neither did they seeme to refuse it, but would not vote concerning it.

The people of Ipswich proper had no objection to the people of Chebacco establishing a church in their district, provided they would continue to support the ministry in Ipswich; but as a town the people of Ipswich would neither vote for it nor against it. This made it necessary for the people of Chebacco to appeal to a higher authority, the General Court, but the Court merely referred it back to the town. The town then voted to authorize the selectmen again to confer with their Chebacco neighbors. After several such meetings no decision was reached. Finally the selectmen were specifically asked for permission for a Mr. Jeremiah Shepherd to preach at Chebacco. Some of the selectmen assented and the others, like good politicians, made no objection, so in 1797 Mr. Shepherd came and preached in a private home in Chebacco. The preaching of Mr. Shepherd was so popular that there was no private house large enough to accommodate those who wanted to hear Mr. Shepherd, so the people of Chebacco quite naturally,

decided to build a plain house, and, if they could obtain leave of the town, or Court, to put it to the use of a meeting-house; if not, to some other use.

One Sunday after the service, Mr. Shepherd announced that he had received a letter from "an honorable and very influential brother" in Ipswich saying that the Ipswich people were much dissatisfied with the proceedings of the Chebacco brethren. Mr. Shepherd could foresee great possibilities in the Chebacco parish, but he could also realize that there would be great opposition from the stronger parent church, and he took the course of expediency, stopped preaching and resigned.

This so incensed the Chebacco residents that they again petitioned the town, but again to no avail. Over a month later the Ipswich selectmen sent a petition to the General Court of Massachusetts in which they made heavy charges against the people of Chebacco. The General Court decided that the men of Chebacco should desist from all further proceedings in this matter. In the meantime the residents of Chebacco optimistically cut the timbers and laid the sills of the meeting-house, so that it could be built

just as soon as permission was received. While the men of Chebacco were trying to settle this conflict, the women secretly met to see what they could do. It was a dangerous and serious offense to violate an order from the General Court, but one of the women remarked that the Great and General Court had said nothing about the women. "The Court," she remarked, "had only forbidden the men from doing anything further in this matter." Another woman remarked that "The Order sent by the General Court mentioned only Chebacco men, and it said nothing about men from other communities building a meeting-house in Chebacco," so the women summoned men from the neighboring communities of Manchester and Gloucester to come and help. In this way, the scheming women saw the Church was built.

When the people in Ipswich realized what had taken place they immediately sent the constable with a warrant summoning some of the Chebacco men and women to trial. They were tried in Ipswich, and as would be expected, found guilty and turned over to the Salem Court. The Salem Court gave the Chebacco people liberty to finish building their meeting-house.

It was natural that Mr. Shepherd should be invited to serve as minister of the new church, but inasmuch as Mr. Shepherd had not joined any Congregational Church, the residents, fearful that Episcopacy or some other church power might gain the ascendancy, searched for another pastor. In April, 1680, a Mr. John Wise was selected and invited to come to preach in the Chebacco meeting-house.

This John Wise was born in August, 1652, as the fifth son of Joseph and Mary (Thompson) Wise. Joseph Wise had come to America in 1636 as an indentured servant of George Alcock, a physician. He apparently took such action because, like the Pilgrims and Puritans, he decided to leave England and possessed no other means of doing so. The Wise family settled in Roxbury where they attended the church of the famous Indian scholar and apostle — John Eliot. At the time of his call to Ipswich, John Wise was 28 years of age and at that time Ipswich was the second largest parish in the colony. We know but

little of John Wise up to this time, save that he graduated from Harvard College in 1673 and spent at least a year preaching in Branford, Connecticut, where he declined a call to that parish. While there he also served as a chaplain of forces against the Narrangansett Indians. He also preached for a time in Hatfield, Massachusetts. On December 5, 1678, he married Abigail Gardner of Roxbury.

John Wise was apparently a tall, large-framed man, majestic in appearance, and endowed with a deep clear, resonant voice. Although a scholar he was far from a recluse. Something of his physical prowess can be seen from an incident that happened shortly after his arrival. A stranger rode into Wise's yard, tied his horse to the hitching post within the yard, and knocked on the door. Wise was greeted with these words: "Sir, my name is Chandler, of the town of Andover; having heard that you are a famous wrestler, and having myself some success that way, having thrown all in our region, I have come all the way from Andover to take hold with you. Do you object?"

"Not at all!" exclaimed Wise, somewhat taken by surprise.

So, removing his frock coat, or whatever jacket he happened to be wearing, Wise stepped out into the yard. After a few struggles Chandler was laid flat upon his back, but still, like a good sport, Chandler asked for more, for another try. This time, Mr. Wise not only pinned Chandler flat, but he picked Chandler up and lifted him over the fence and deposited him in the road outside.

"And now," said Chandler with good humor, "if you will just throw my horse over after me, I will be going along my way."

Let us take a look at the meeting-house where Wise was to preach for it will help us to appreciate the times of which Mr. Wise was so much a part. Unlike most churches of our day, the pulpit is plain and very high with a spacious window behind it and with a sounding-board above to prevent the speaker's voice from ascending to the open rafters above. In front of the pulpit is a high seat for the deacons with a pew beside the pulpit for the minister's family. The women are seated on both sides of

the house and the gentlemen in the middle of the meeting house. As yet there is no instrumental music — all who can sing comprise the choir and a deacon will line out the hymns and pitch the tunes.

It was in such a church and under such circumstances that Mr. Wise preached. About a year after Mr. Wise came the people of Chebacco sent in a formal request to Ipswich to be dismissed from that Church for the purpose of being organized into a church in Chebacco, but the Ipswich people were slow in granting this request — probably because they were reluctant to part with so many of their members and with the financial support, too, that had been coming from the Chebacco people.

At the time of Mr. Wise's coming to Chebacco, people were also paying their accustomed rates for the support of the minister and church in Ipswich, but within a few months after his arrival the town of Ipswich reluctantly accepted the Court's order to release the Chebacco people from such obligations. How much of this is due to the influence of Mr. Wise we can only conjecture, but we can feel certain that the release would not have then come without him.

It was, however, not until three years after John Wise came to Chebacco that the church was formally organized. The people of Chebacco parish invited ministers and delegates from neighboring churches to meet as a council to proclaim them a church. At this Council the senior minister of the Council and its moderator called upon all who were present from the Chebacco parish to rise that they might in that public way give their assent to the confession of faith and the covenant which had previously been prepared. The following covenant was then administered to the people of Chebacco:

You do in the name and fear of God (as in the presence of God, men and angels) take God, Jehovah, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be your only portion, and chiefest good; giving up yourself and yours unto His use, and service, in the sincerity and uprightness of your hearts; you do promise by the assistance of Divine Grace, to walk in His fear, according to the rule of worship and manners towards God and men, all your days, as He shall reveal His mind to you out

of His holy word and truth; farther, you do by your own choice and act, (highly esteeming the privileges of God's household) yield yourselves, as members of the Church of Christ, before which you now stand. Expecting its faithful watch over you; and you promise subjection to the discipline of Christ in it, both corrective and directive, while God shall continue you members in it; also promising all love and watchfulness over your fellow members, you do resolve to discharge all your duties both to God and men, Christ by His grace assisting you.¹

After this covenant was administered the moderator in the name of the Council declared that the Church at Chebacco, or Essex as it is called today, was a duly established Church of Christ in good and regular standing and fellowship with all sister churches.

The same council was met on this same day, August 12, 1683, for the purpose of ordaining the preacher, John Wise to the Christian ministry. The Chebacco people offered John Wise, as their minister, ten acres of land which was "to be his own and his heirs and assigns forever." His annual salary was to be sixty pounds or about \$290 — one third of which was to be paid in money, and two-thirds in grain at the current selling price. He was to have 40 acres of oak wood each year, and eight loads of salt hay. In addition to this they agreed to build and keep in repair for his use, a parsonage and barn — the house to be equal in every respect to Samuel Gidding's house which seems to have been a model house in that day. Mr. Wise was also to have the use of the parsonage lands and the strangers' contributions.

The new pastor of this newly formed church was destined to become one of the most influential men of the pre-revolutionary era and his influence is felt today. Atkins and Fagley claim that "even now a certain reluctance (among local churches) to participate in national church organizations can be attributed directly to John Wise."² "As his writings (John Wise) were instrumental in keeping the churches strong to safeguard their liberty, so was his influence powerful in building up before the Revolu-

1 Crowell, *History of Essex*, p. 92.

2 *History of American Congregationalism*, p. 194.

tionary War among the masses of the people the same spirit of freedom and democracy which helped bring to that war the support of vast numbers of thinking people.”³

Upon the death of Charles II, James II ascended the throne and he appointed Sir Edmund Andros as Governor of All the New England Colonies. In 1687 Andros caused a tax of a pence a pound to be levied on the colonists. Such a tax, imposed as it was without their consent in a legislative Assembly, was an outright violation of their Charter rights and of their rights as Englishmen. Upon hearing of this edict, Mr. Wise sent at once to several influential townsmen to discuss the matter, with the result that he enlisted the support of these men at the town meeting which was called for the next day. Wise clearly saw the injustice of this tax and he fearlessly spoke out against it. Had John Wise not taken the bold leadership he did, it is very likely that the townspeople would have paid the tax, though begrudgingly as did other communities, yet nevertheless they would have paid it. Wise spoke persuasively before the town meeting, and although we unfortunately have no record of his speech that day, we do know that he urged the townspeople to stand firmly for their rights and privileges. The town, largely as a result of this speech, declared that it was not their duty to collect a tax which they were convinced was illegal and unconstitutional. “Taxation without representation is tyranny.” Other communities followed Ipswich and took similar action, but the leadership is due to John Wise. This speech of Wise is one of the great speeches of all time, and in this speech were sown seeds and expressions even, that found embodiment later in the Declaration of Independence.

A report of Mr. Wise’s doings and the action of the town itself were made to the governor, Sir Edmund Andros, with the result that John Wise and five others were arrested and sent to jail in Boston. This bordered on treason. They were denied the privilege of giving bonds in lieu of their appearance in court. Not only that but these honorable and respectable men were found guilty of con-

3 Ibid. p. 194.

tempt and high misdemeanor and they were therefore kept in jail twenty-one days longer.

Let Mr. Wise tell the story in his own words:

We, John Wise, John Andrews, Sen., Robert Kinsman, William Goodhue, Jr., all of Ipswich, about the 22nd of August 1687, were, with several principal inhabitants of Ipswich, met at Mr. John Appleton's and there discoursed and concluded, that it was not the town's duty in any way to assist that ill method of raising money without a general assembly, which was generally intended by above said Sir Edmund and his Council, as witness a late act issued out by them for such purpose. The next day in a general town meeting of the inhabitants of Ipswich, we the above named J. Wise, J. Andrews, R. Kinsman, W. Goodhue, with the rest of the town, there met, (none contradicting) and gave our assent to the vote then made. The ground of our trouble, our crime, was the copy transmitted to the Council, viz: "At a legal town meeting, August 23, assembled by virtue of an order from John Usher, Esq., for choosing a commissioner to join with the Selectmen to assess the inhabitants according to an act of His Excellency the Governor, and Council, for laying of rates. The town then considering that this act doth infringe their liberty, as free English subjects of His Majesty, by interfering with the Statute Laws of the land, by which it was enacted, that no taxes should be levied upon the subjects without the consent of an Assembly, chosen by the freeholders for assessing of the same, they do therefore vote that they are not willing moreover, consent not, that the Selectmen do proceed to lay any such rate, until it be appointed by a General Assembly, concurring with Governor and Council."

We, the complainants, with Mr. John Appleton and Thomas French, all of Ipswich, were brought to answer for the said vote out of our own county thirty or forty miles into Suffolk and in Boston, kept in jail for contempt and high misdeamor, as our mittimus specifies, and upon demand, denied the charge or privilege of *habeus corpus*, and from prison overruled to answer at a Court of Oyer and Terminer in Boston. Our Judges were Joseph Dudley of Roxbury, Stoughton of Dorchester, John Usher of Boston, and Edward Randolph. That that officiates as Clerk and Attorney in the case, is George Farwell. The Jurors only twelve, and most of them (as is said) non-freeholders of any land in the colony, some of them strangers and foreigners, gathered up (as we suppose) to serve the present term. In our defense

was pleaded the repeal of the Statute Laws, that secure the subject's properties and estates, etc. To which was replied by one of the judges, the rest by silence assenting, that we must not think the Laws of England follow us to the ends of the earth, or whither we went. And the same person (J. Wise abovesaid testifies) declared in open council, upon examination of said Wise, "Mr. Wise, you have no more privileges left you, than not to be sold as slaves" and no man contradicted. By such Laws our trial and trouble began and ended. Mr. Dudley, aforesaid Chief Judge, to close up a debate and trial trims up a speech that pleased himself (as we suppose) more than the people. Among many other remarkable passages to this purpose, he bespeaks the jury's obedience, who (we suppose) were very well pre-inclined, viz: "I am glad," says he "there be so many worthy gentlemen of the jury so capable to do the king's service, and we expect a good verdict from you, seeing the matter hath been so sufficiently proved against the criminals."

Note.—The evidence in the case, as the substance of it, was that we too boldly endeavored to persuade ourselves we were Englishmen and under privileges, and that we were, all six of us aforesaid, at the town-meeting of Ipswich aforesaid, and . . . that John Wise made a speech at the same time, and said that we had a good God and a Good King, and should do well to stand to our privileges.

The jury return us all six guilty. We were remanded from verdict to prison, and there kept twenty-one days for judgment. There, with Mr. Dudley's approbation as Judge Stoughton said, this sentence was passed, viz: John Wise suspended from the ministerial function, fine 50 pounds, pay cost, 1,000 bond . . . These bonds were for good behaviour one year. We judge the total charges for one case and trial under one single information, involving six men, above said, in expense of time and moneys of us, and our relations for our necessary succor and support, to amount to more, but not less, than 400 pound money. Too tedious to illustrate more at this time, and we conclude.⁴

As a matter of fact the town afterwards made up the loss which these persons sustained. Mr. Wise later brought action against Chief Justice Dudley for denying him the privilege of the *habeus corpus* act, and Wise won the case

⁴ Quoted from Crowell, History of Essex, pp. 101-103, as quoted by Felt. The Revolution in New England Justified by John Wise, being his own story following his arrest, 1687.

and recovered damages. It was not long after that that Sir Edmund Andros was put down by the people of Boston and shipped back to England. When James II was expelled and William and Mary elevated to the throne, then a new Governor was sent over.

Wise was honored by his townspeople by being chosen one of two to represent Ipswich at a council, comprised of representatives of the other towns, to consider the public affairs of the colony under the new governor.

Prior to the organizing of the second church, all in Chebacco who were able to bear arms were obliged to travel to Ipswich eight times a year for military training, but with an ordained minister settled among them, the residents of Chebacco felt that they were entitled to a military company of their own, and so with the encouragement of the new minister a special military training muster was held in the common at Chebacco. In the forenoon the company, as did all such companies, marched to the home of the pastor to offer the customary tokens of military respect. This military preparation was principally in defense of the Indian depredations and butcheries. It is hard to tell how much the military training with its attendant power actually drove the Indians to attack in self-defense, for with the military power the whites were able to impose measures upon the Indians that could not have been enforced otherwise. Of course, when attacked the white people through their military training were able to defend themselves successfully, but it is debatable whether or not the whites and the Indians might not have worked out an ethically more just and satisfactory solution of their problem without military training.

To be sure, many of the assaults of the Indians were instigated by the Canadian French. It therefore soon seemed desirable to carry war into the French dominions in Canada and an expedition was fitted out for that purpose under the command of Sir William Phips. About 2500 soldiers set sail from Massachusetts Bay on August 9, 1690 to conquer New France and drive the French from Canada. Upon invitation from the General Court John Wise became a Chaplain in Phips expedition against Quebec "where not only the Pious Discharge of his Sacred

Office, but his Heroick Spirit, and Martial Skill and Wisdom did greatly distinguish him."

In a "Narrative of the Expedition Against Quebec, A. D. 1690 under Sir William Phips," Rev. John Wise gave in forceful terms his reasons for the failure of the Expedition. In no uncertain terms, Wise says that the failure was due to the scarceness of provisions, to the want of ammunition, and to the want of time, — all three things could, he maintains, have been avoided. Wise also attacked Phips and his officers for showing cowardice, for not landing the army at a more convenient place to attack the enemy, and for not heeding the advice of a council of men and officers.

The expedition did not last long, although a thousand men perished.

John Wise, scholar that he was, was keenly interested in education and was eager to lift the cultural level of those around him as much as possible. It was natural for one whose library contained the best of the Greek and Latin classics in their original tongue, as well as works upon Greek, Roman, Ecclesiastical, and English history, philosophy, theology and Biblical science, to be a strong advocate for free public schools. Public education we take for granted today, but as late as 1723 wolves were so abundant and so near the meeting house that parents would not let their children go to church without some adult. It was no wonder that much instruction was given at home in reading, 'riting, and 'rithmetic, as well as in religion and the laws of their country. It was found as might be expected that some of the parents were not as faithful as they should have been in fulfilling their educational duties. Back from war, this young minister aroused the inhabitants of Ipswich to the point where a town meeting was held to consider free public education. Mr. Wise, of course, was expected to speak and he urged the people of Ipswich: "Save your children from ignorance, infidelity, and vice." In 1695 the town, largely through the efforts of Mr. Wise, voted to hire a teacher and to provide suitable accommodations for a school. A Nathaniel Rust, Jr., was called as teacher.

It was not until 1702 that a school house was built —

one large enough to accommodate the Chebacco children. The privilege of six months' schooling was given annually to every child. Wise was a civic minded, progressive man, but we must not lose sight of the fact that these measures — desirable as they were, were also costly, as a result Ipswich paid a higher county and state tax in 1703 than any other town in the County. In the days of John Wise Ipswich was one of the largest and most influential town in the Massachusetts Bay Colony and Wise did much to strengthen that influence.

Just about the time that the school house was built the French and Indian War broke out — a war which lasted through ten long years at the expense of much blood and treasure. Every fifth man was called into military service. A public Fast was observed to pray, as the proclamation stated: "For her majesty, that her forces, and those of her allies and of this province may prevail, that the sea-coast, and inland frontiers be protected and that there be a plentiful effusion of the Holy Spirit of God for a thorough reformation of all evils." By this time, Mr. Wise was over 50 years of age and therefore no longer eligible for strenuous military service.

About this time, too, Mr. Wise, built for himself on the ten acre lot that the parish had "given to him and his heirs and assigns forever" at the time of his ordination. It appears, though, that before Mr. Wise built his house, the parish had already engaged for him a new parsonage, and had also voted to give Mrs. Wise 100 pounds in case she should be left a widow in the parsonage-house in the event that she became a widow. Curiously, at a subsequent meeting the Church offered Mr. Wise the sum of fifty pounds if he would release them from these obligations, and at the same time they asked him to give bond of 80 pounds if he left them to settle over any other people.

The affection in which Rev. and Mrs. Wise were held by the community and the Yankee shrewdness of the parish is reflected in the records, an abridgement of which follows:

May the 21, 1701. It was then voted, that, provided the Rev. Mr. Wise forgive us all the behindments relating to his salary until the beginning of this present year; and also that

he forgive us all the stone wall that the place is yet obliged to do about the pasture, and also doth acquit and discharge us from all repairs of the parsonage-house, except shingling and ground-selling and clapboarding; and also from a house this place was formerly obliged to build for him; and from the 100 pounds it was formerly voted to Mrs. Wise, provided she was left a widow, — it is voted that we will give to our minister, Mr. John Wise, the full sum of 50 pounds. He, the said Mr. John Wise, shall give bonds

Mr. and Mrs. Wise graciously accepted the offer of the parish and in a few years their new house was ready for occupancy. Mr. Wise was to receive during his lifetime the rents of the old parsonage house.

Perhaps the size of the minister's family as well as the affluence of the parish had something to do with the building of a new house, for by this time Mr. and Mrs. Wise had 6 children: Jeremiah had graduated from Harvard and had been settled for four years as pastor in Berwick, Maine. Lucy was married to the Rev. John White of Gloucester. Joseph was living in Boston. Mary, Henry, Ammi Ruhami, and John are at home. The study is in the south-east corner of the house where its occupant might have the most light and heat. In his will, John bequeathed to his beloved wife Abigail, "that bed, Bedstead & Bedding belonging to it, standing in my study, which we commonly lay on."

The library is not extensive but Hebrew and Greek Scriptures with their respective Lexicons are upon the table for handy use, not upon the shelves. Three books which he prized highly, he willed to his son, John Wise: Gurniet's "Armor of Light": Dalton's "County Justice and Wood's," "Chronicles of England" and we know that his shelves contained many other valuable books. The number of references and sources mentioned by Wise in his famous pamphlet, "A Vindication of the Government of the New England Churches," are quoted so precisely often with chapter and page, that it would seem that he must have had access to many of the books mentioned, if not possessing them in his own library. I noted the following in "Vindication":

Cyprian, Plutarch, Tertullian, Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Mel-

anchthon, Increase Mather, Dr. Thomas More, Luther, Wickliff, Origen, Polycarp, Ignatius, Ireaeus, Justin Martyr, Mr. Hooker, Sabinus of Emertria, Felicissimus of Carthage, Esuebius, Clemens Romanus, Dr. Owen, Dr. Oakes, Baron Puffendorff, Lord Warrington, Boethius, Caractacus, Hensius, Aristotle, Ulpian, Plato, Zenares, Virgil, Arius and the Bible.

These references are all used aptly not eruditely; and they are not general references casually mentioned, but specifically quoted and they reveal an intimate knowledge of the subject mentioned.

His writings abound with imagery, with keen satire, and tough logic, as to wit, the following:

And as to our case, we may say, Despise not the day of small things, all men must have a beginning, and every bird which is pretty well fledged must begin to fly. And ours are not of the nest where Icarus was hatched, whose feathers were only glued on; but these belong to the angelic host, and their wings grow out from their essence; therefore you may allow them, with the lark, now and then to dart heavenward, though the shell or down be scarce off from their heads. And so we conclude with our charitable and divine apostle. "What then! if Christ we preached . . . whether by young or by old" ⁵

In spite of the opposition of most of the clergy an independent congregation of the Brattle Street Church in Cambridge chose and installed Benjamin Colman as their minister. Cotton and Increase Mather and others became alarmed at this action and they initiated a movement to establish associations of clergy that would exercise functions hitherto exercised by the individual churches. In 1705 Increase Mather published a pamphlet called "Questions and Proposals" in which the plan was set forth. The proposal in its intent was commendable, being designed to prevent independent lay people and churches from installing unqualified men as pastors — though Mr. Colman seems to have been worthy. John Wise from his study in Ipswich saw in the Mathers' new proposal the beginning of what might develop into a reactionary revolution.

The proposals, 16 in number, were under two general divisions. The first eight concerned the action of asso-

⁵ *The Churches Quarrel Espoused*, pp. 178-179, Edition 1860.

ciated ministers in licensing candidates for the ministry, and the second eight related to standing councils which were to be comprised of associated ministers and lay delegates and were to meet at least once a year or oftener if desired.

These proposals, however, honestly intended for the good of the Churches, nevertheless contained principles which, if carried out, Wise felt would tend to weaken and subvert individual liberties. It was this threat to liberty that drew from the pen of John Wise in 1710 a paper under the quaint title of "The Churches Quarrel Espoused." The pamphlet, contradicting the policies, advocated by the President of Harvard, virtually gave the death blow to the Mathers' proposals. Its satire is keen and it has been declared the clearest and most convincing demonstration of the Congregational policy ever put forth in the same number of pages. The importance of this satirical masterpiece should not be underestimated for it soon became apparent to the people that the argument for the democracy of the congregational churches was quite as available and applicable for a democracy for the state, and it was this that gave the public a mind-set toward political independence which later played such an important part in our American life. It is no wonder that this advocate of democracy should be called "The Father of American Independence." As the state itself in its first organic life on these shores "was born in the Church, so our republican form of government is the product of the congregational polity, and of all men whom God has honored with an agency in the production of democracy and independence, John Wise ranks among the foremost."

In order to appreciate fully the import of this famous pamphlet known as "The Churches Quarrel Espoused", one must realize the fact that Wise regarded the proposals of these Boston ministers as being subversive of the Cambridge Platform. In this great historic document of 1646 the churches of New England meeting at Cambridge, declared their independence of all European churches and they set up a plan of church organization which, with but few changes, has been the guiding principle or instrument of the churches ever since. The Platform, embodying

seventeen chapters, dealt with many things of ecclesiastical doctrine and polity.

It is hard for us today to see in the proposals of the Boston ministers all the ugly features noted by Wise, but the emphasis given by John Wise to the values of pure democracy and independence have an impetus to democracy and independence that has characterized American life ever since. The value of this pamphlet lies not so much in the fact that Wise won in a debate with Increase Mather and the Boston ministers, so much as in its clarion call for a church and civil government of pure democracy and independence.

Something of the strength of this independence of spirit is reflected in the order of the General Court, no less, in 1652, that a "license" to preach or serve as minister, should be obtained from a council or from the county court, but the church people resisted this order so strenuously that the law had to be repealed. It should be noted that the old way was for a license to preach to be granted by a particular church granting authority for a person to preach *to them*.

It took time for such a pamphlet to gain widespread circulation in those days and for the issues to be clearly defined. Some five years later, two ministers in Gloucester, having been impressed with the pamphlet and wanting more on the subject from the pen of such an able man wrote to John Wise as follows:

Reverend Sir: We have had the favor and satisfaction of reading and according to our measure considering the transcendent logic, as well as grammar and rhetoric of your Reply to the Proposals; by which our eyes are opened to see much more than ever before we saw of the value and glory of our invaded privileges, and are of opinion that if your consent may be obtained to a new edition it may be of wonderful service to our churches, if God shall please to go forth with it. However, it will be a testimony that all our watchmen were not asleep, nor the camp of Christ surprised and taken before they had warning. We are, &c.⁶

It was not until 1717 that a second treatise, entitled, "A VINDICATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE

6 Crowell, *History of Essex*, p. 125-126.

NEW ENGLAND CHURCHES, DRAWN FROM ANTIQUITY, THE LIGHT OF NATURE, THE HOLY SCRIPTURES, ITS NOBLE NATURE, AND FROM THE DIGNITY WHICH DIVINE PROVIDENCE HAS PUT UPON IT." This pamphlet was published together with "The CHURCHES QUARREL ESPOUSED", in one volume. There was need for re-publishing these a few years later.

In the "Vindication" as it became familiarly known, Wise considers the fundamental ideas of civil as well as religious government. This is a striking document for democracy in church and state. In this, Wise was trying to kill what he considered the heretical and dangerous plan of synods. Synods he maintained were undemocratic and made for an insidious undermining of our equality and liberty. Had he not been so able a pamphleteer and so convincing a thinker, the Congregational churches would undoubtedly have accepted the proposal of Increase Mather, and operated under a synod form of government, as outlined by Increase Mather in his famous "Disquisition Concerning Ecclesiastical Council," 1716.

Wise attacked this disquisition by proving that each church was truly a proper body full of power and authority to govern itself. The effect of such a victory is more far reaching than might be supposed, for this strong advocate of local and self-government virtually directed the polity of Congregationalism for centuries. In fact, some fifty years later the ministers of that day declared the following rights to be natural and inalienable in religious affairs — all of which had been advocated by the fearless non-conformist, John Wise:

1. The right of a church to choose its own minister.
2. The right to have the various kinds of religious covenants preserved.
3. The right to read and interpret the Bible for oneself.
4. The right to complete freedom of conscience.

But this "Vindication" pamphlet went further. It was a strong advocate of pure democracy in civil affairs as well. In fact, the acceptance of the following rights as inalienable and natural in civil affairs is largely due to the efforts of John Wise:

1. The right of freedom of reading and of speech.
2. The sacredness of compacts.
3. The sacredness in the choice of officials of government.
4. The right of trial and appeal.
5. The right to the fruits of man's labor.
6. The right of Magna Charta.
7. The right to resist any encroachment upon these rights.

From the above it seems clear that this pioneer and exponent of freedom is entitled to the right of being called the Father of American Independence.

The following excerpts from "Vindication" may serve to give something of the clarity, force, and orderliness of style and argument of that document of independence, to which all Americans are indebted.

The end of all government is to cultivate humanity, and promote the happiness of all, and the good of every man in all his rights, his life, liberty, estate, honor, etc., without injury or abuse done to any.⁷

Such thoughts and even phraseology we see clearly reflected a century later in the Declaration of Independence. The ideas of Wise had become commonplace, as by-words, by 1776, and were embodied in the Declaration of Independence.

Again,

Then certainly it cannot easily be thought that a company of men, that shall enter into a voluntary compact, to hold all power in their own hands, thereby to use and improve their united force, wisdom, riches, and strength for the common and particular good of every member, as is the nature of democracy; I say it cannot be that this sort of constitution will so readily furnish those in government with an appetite, or disposition to prey upon each other, or embezzle the common stocks, as some particular persons may be apt to do when set off and instructed with the same power. And, moreover, this appears very natural, that when the aforesaid government or power, settled in all, when they have elected certain capable persons to minister in their affairs, and the said ministers remain accountable to the assembly, these officers must needs be under the influence of many wise cautions from their own thoughts (as well as under confinement by their commission) in their whole administration. And from thence it must

7 *Vindication*, pp. 54-55, Edition of 1860.

needs follow that they will be more apt and inclined to steer right for the main point, namely, the peculiar good and benefit of the whole, and every particular member fairly and sincerely.

Just to indicate the epigrammatic nature of the paper, the creativeness, originality, and cogency of thought, let me quote a few more excerpts from the same source:

It is a "fundamental principle relating to government that (under God) all power is originally in the people."⁸

The highest power of electing worthy officers and rejecting unworthy is in the people.⁹

There is no lurking-place for Symony in this constitution.¹⁰

A democracy is then erected, when a number of free persons do assemble together in order to enter into a covenant for uniting themselves in a body . . .

He who dissents from the vote of the majority is not in the least obliged by what they determine, till by a second covenant a popular form be actually established; for not . . . until the right of determining all matters relating to the public safety is actually placed in a general assembly of the whole people.¹¹

These and other pithy statements from this pamphlet place John Wise as not only an advocate of democracy, but as "The Father of American Independence."

Wise regarded the synod as an effort to increase the power of the clergy and to take away the liberties of the people. This incensed Cotton Mather to such an extent that he wrote that "a furious man, called John Wise . . . has lately published a foolish libel against some of us, for presbyterianizing too much." Later Mather called Wise's article, "A satanic insult twice over" and he wonders what can be done that "the poison of Wise's cursed Libel may have an Antidote."

John Wise nevertheless seems "to have been the only minister before 1740 to write of the quality of the state of nature and the right to retain that equality under civil government to the highest degree consistent 'with all just

⁸ Ibid, p. 64.

⁹ Ibid. p. 70.

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 79.

¹¹ Ibid, p. 43.

distinctions'. This implies that a part of the original equality is preserved after civil government is organized."¹²

Wise taught that civil liberty was a natural right of man and that man was free to do what he liked for his own advantage. Restraints, of course, were imposed by common agreement in order that the remaining freedom might be secured. Liberty therefore did not mean license. Only so much liberty was to be given up as was necessary for the public good.

On the seal of the Town of Ipswich are these words: "THE BIRTHPLACE OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, 1687". Ipswich can claim this prerogative by virtue of John Wise who has demonstrated the right to be called, "THE FATHER OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE," by his pamphlets and his famous pleas before town of Ipswich persuading them to refuse to collect the "illegal and unconstitutional tax" imposed upon them by Governor Andros.

There were other major issues in which Wise took a prominent and historically influential part. Wise was outspoken against witchcraft, and it is largely due to his progressive spirit and keen insight that Ipswich never fell to the disgraceful level of her neighbors, notably Salem and Danvers, in the treatment of witches.

The parish had flourished under the leadership of John Wise so that by 1717 there was demand for a new meeting-house. The question of location of a meeting-house has generally proved a very difficult one and has often done more to divide and alienate from each other the members of a parish than almost anything else. It was finally voted, having been urged by Mr. Wise, that the more commodious location be held.

In 1721 the dread disease of small pox menaced the Boston area. That year, for the first time, inoculation was introduced. To most people the thought of taking active measures to bring the disease upon them struck horror into their thoughts, but Mr. Wise was among the very few who stood boldly, amidst strong prejudice and violent op-

¹² Alice Baldwin, *N. E. Clergy and the American Revolution*, p. 49.

position, for inoculation as a remedy. This is indicative of his courage and vision.

In 1722 the colonists experienced an inflation that worked hardships on many, especially those of fixed salary. The parish had from time to time increased Mr. Wise's salary but the salary had never come up to the promised original value. On a motion to make up the full value, the vote was in the negative and Mr. Wise then entered a complaint against them at the Court of General Sessions. The result was that the parish was ordered to add 55 pounds to the original sum, thus increasing his salary to 115 pounds. Apparently this civil suit did not interrupt the good will and harmony existing between pastor and people.

Mr. Wise was taken seriously ill in 1725, living only ten days. The parish voted 30 pounds for funeral expenses, but nearly 100 pounds was finally spent to cover the cost of a monument, the gold rings and gloves given to the bearers, and the alcoholic drinks that were freely dispensed. The funeral sermon was preached by his son-in-law, Lucy's husband, the Reverend John White of Gloucester.

"Upon the whole no other author of the colonial times is the equal of John Wise in the union of great breadth and power of thought, with great splendor of speech, and he stands almost alone among our earlier writers for the blending of a racy and dainty humor with impassioned earnestness."¹³

The writer makes no claim for originality in the presentation of this biographical sketch of John Wise; he has collected information from various sources, put them together into this essay, in the hope that in this way this star of the first magnitude, may come to shine in the hearts and thinking of us who cherish this which we call American Independence. I acknowledge and express my indebtedness and gratitude to many of the sources mentioned the bibliography.

13 Quoted from "The Birthplace of American Independence," by J. H. Burnham.

APPENDIX I

The gravestone inscription:

Underneath lies the body of the
REV. JOHN WISE, A. M.
First Pastor of the 2d Church in Ipswich

Graduated at Harvard College, 1673
Ordained Pastor of said Church, 1681
And died April 8, 1725
Aged 73

For talents, Piety and Learning
He shone as a star of the
First Magnitude.

APPENDIX II

Tablet standing in front of
The John Wise House, Essex, Mass.
Erected by the State, 1930

1630	1930
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JOHN WISE HOUSE
ERECTED IN 1701 BY JOHN WISE
PASTOR OF THE CHEBACCO PARISH
OF IPSWICH, NOW ESSEX, SON OF A
LABORER, HARVARD GRADUATE,
ARMY CHAPLAIN, PROTESTANT,
AGAINST TAXATION WITHOUT
REPRESENTATION, AND AGAINST
THE WITCHCRAFT DELUSION,
DEFENDER OF DEMOCRACY IN THE
CHURCH, AND BRILLIANT PROSE
WRITER.
MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY
TERCENTENARY COMMISSION.

INSCRIPTION ON SHIELD OF STATE OF MASS.
AT THE TOP OF TABLET
"ENSE PETIT PLASCIDUM SUB LIBERATE
QUIETEM".

APPENDIX III

Will of John Wise Made August 8, 1717

Be it known:— I, John Wise of Ipswich in Essex in ye Province of ye Massachusetts Bay in N-England: Clergimen; drawing towards the End of my Transitory Life yet thro ye Mercy of God being in health of Body & a Sound Mind; Do now (abolishing abrogating annulling all Will and Wills formerly by me made) make Setle, authorize & Publish, This to be my last Will & Testament.

My soul I Humbly Bequeath unto God my Heavenly Father in Ye Merits of Christ my Redeemer; and Body at Death, I Resigne to ye Grave by Decent Burial (at ye Discretion of my Executer here after named) in ye hopes of a Joyfull Resurrection.—And then Nextly Proceed to dispose of such Earthly Estate which God of His Bounty has intrusted me with, in manner and form following. Imprimis. My wish and Pleasure is that All my Just Debts be Duely payed, by my Executer.

Item. I Will & Appoint an Honorable and Sufficent Maintenance for Abigail, my Beloved Wife, out of ye Income of me Estate, as she herself, and my Executer shall Adjust ye Terms; Also I give unto her my Said Wife that Bed, bedstead and Bedding belonging to it, standing in my study, which we commonly lay on.

Item. Having Bred my Eldest Son, Jeremiah, to learning I recon it to him in full as his Portion out of my Estate.

Item. I having given to my Daughter Lucy White at & sine her Marriage about to the value of fourscore pound, which I now Recon to her for her Portion.

Item. I having given to my son Joseph fifteen Pound in letting at Boston, I Recon it to him for his Portion.

Item. I having given my Son Ammi-Ruaamah in my life time, to the Value of One hundred and thirtie Pound, I Recon it to him for his portion.

Item. I give to my Daughter Mary Wise fourtie Pound in bills of Public Credit to be paid within Two Years after my Decease.

Item. Having brought up my son Henry Wise in Learn-

ing to the Degree of a Junior Batcholour, I recon it to him and for his portion, only moreover I Bequeath to him and to his Brother my son Jeremiah Wise, my whole Libraby to be equally Divided between, that is to say I leave to my Son John Wise and give to him Gurnits Armour of Light, Daltons County-Justice, and Woods Chronicles of England, those only excepted, the Rest of my Libraries shall be Divided between my sd son Jeremiah & Henry Finally. I do now ordain Constitute & Appoint my son John Wise to be the sole executor of this my Last Will & Testament & Require him faithfully to execute & perform Every article & part of it; and in a special manner to be tender of & provide well for his mother During her Widowhood in lue of her Right of Dowen if she agree to it. And also if his sd Mother dye before Marriage, that be at ye Expenses of Decent Burial for her. And that He may be Enabled for his Discharge of his Duty and trust Developed upon him I give Bequeath & make over to him ye sd my Executer & his heirs, all the Remainder of my Estate both Real & Personal, what so ever & where so ever. And the whole shall be to him the sd John Wise & his heirs for Ever.

IN Wittnesse where to I the sd John Wise Clergyman have set to my hand & seal. Dated this twentie Eighth Day of August Anno Domini, One thousand seven hundred & seventene.

Signed

Jn. Wise (Seal)

Signed, Sealed & Published in ye presenc

John Choate	(Will proved April 22, 1725. Rec.
Natha iel Goodhue	Book 315, page 216-17. Essex.
William Gidding	Probate Office

APPENDIX IV

REAL ESTATE OF JOHN WISE

The following abstract of title to the Wise House and lot, as located on John Wise Avenue, corner of Wise's Lane, in the Town of Essex, Mass., was published by the late Rufus Choate in the Essex Echo about 1910, among his historical sketches of Chebacco houses.

This is copied in turn from a paper prepared by Parker C. Choate found in the Burnham Library at Essex. The present writer has not examined the deeds:

OWNERS OF THE WISE HOUSE

John Wise — 1703 to 1725 — 22 years
John Wise, Jr. — 1725 to 1762 — 37 years
George Pierce — 1766 to 1812 — 56 years
John Mears, Sr., — 1826 to 1865 — 39 years
William Williams — 1869 to 1885 — 16 years
Mary Ellen (Hobbs) Williams widow — 1885
Jane E. (Hobbs) Burnham, sister, by will — 1897
Ellis Jeremiah Burnham, by inheritance — 1906
The Hobbs-Burnham family 1885 to 1922 — 37 years
Richard T. Crane, Jr., through Atty. Lockhard, 1922-35,
15 yrs.
Mrs. Jacob S. Perkins, 1935

There exist short periods between Wise and Pierce, Pierce and Mears, Mears and Williams, when, as Mr. Choate states, the house had short-time owners, not recorded.

APPENDIX V

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JOURNAL OF WILLIAM WAIT OLIVER OF
SALEM, 1802-1803.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN POSSESSION OF
THE ESSEX INSTITUTE

(Continued from Volume L XXXI, page 137)

Sunday, Aug. 8, 1802. Took Oliver with me & walk'd to the turnpike; the number of people walking there was really astonishing; came home with Oliver & walk'd to Pool's To bed at 9. Capt. Upton, sailed from hence.

Monday 9. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5. Wind W. pleasant & warm forenoon. Afternoon Wind S. E. & gradually grew cool, and was so cold at night I was disappointed in going bath. Spent half an hour in company with Capt. S. Cook. Mr Knight & M. A Gardner — home at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 & to bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ 9.

Tuesday 10. Rose at $\frac{1}{4}$ before 6. Wind W. & pleasant — soon came to be quite foggy but the fog quickly passed off, & the weather was exceeding warm. After breakfast, walk'd round the Common to the Crowninshield lower wharf, up the back way to the office. Reading Abbe Raynal's History of the Indies. Read one of Burton's Lectures & at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7, prepar'd myself for bathing — went to the North River in company with C. B. Seccomb & S. Kimball; had a fine swim, came home sat down a few moments & then set out for the turnpike, but meeting J. Cross jun. at his door, I stopt in conversation with him till I thought rather late & came home. At 9, went home with Sally; it being warm & a most beautiful evening, I did not like the notion of coming home, & I rambled to the turnpike alone; went as far as any work was done, & then came musing home again. Met not one soul from the time I entered the pasture gate till I came through it on my way back.

. . . Arrived at home my haven of earthly rest at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 10; committed myself to the arms of Morphews & to the care of a Gracious God.

Wednesday 11. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5. Wind S.W. beautiful morning & a very serene air. spent the morning

Reading & writing. After coffee in the afternoon, reading Burton's Lecture to my sister Sally, Mr Hiller sent for me to come to his house; I went & found a gentleman there from Boston, who came down on account of the collector to search for goods taken from the Ship *Astrea* Capt. Stanwood, from Batavia. I went with him to Capt. Putnam's & in company with Capt. Putnam for Mr. Haskell, whom we found near the long wharfe, from thence altogether we went up to Capt. Peele's wharfe on board the Sloop *Dispatch* of Fairfield, Capt. Buckley, but could not discover any traces of them. At 8 I parted from the gentlemen & came up to Mr Hiller's, spent $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour there — came home — took off all my cloths — put on my wrapper & a pair of loose trousers & went to the River to bath. After I got there the clouds look'd very wild & I did not go in, but returned directly home & to bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9.

Thursday 12. Rose at 6. Wind N. warm forenoon — overcast & some in the course of the day; went to turnpike twice, one in the morning & once in the afternoon in company with Mr Abel Gardner, while we were gone there came up a very smart shower & for shelter we got under a cart. Returned out the north gate & stopt at Mr Osborn's store — spent half an hour there & then home, to bed at 9. It rained very hard in the night. The *Belisarius* put to Sea again. Ship *Hazard*, Richard Gardner, master & the ship *Belisarius*, Samuel Skerry master, sail'd. The former for Europe & India & the latter for India, direct.

Friday 13. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ 6. Wind N. Mr Hiller, sent John for me, directly after I rose — I went to his house, found Mr Cleveland there with a letter from John Steele, Comptroller of the Treasury, informing Mr. Hiller, William R. Lee was appointed in his room & stead Collector of the Customs of the District of Salem & Beverly, and for him to close his books, forward his accounts to the present date, & deliver such books & forms as he had received from the Treasury Department to his successor & take duplicate Receipts for them. No official business transacted at the Custom House today. Afternoon Mr. W. R. Lee came over & took his Commission from the Post Office — came to the Custom House & desired Mr Cleve-

land & myself to remain till we could make necessary arrangements & then advise what we would remain in the office for. I informed him on my part I should advise with Mr Hiller, & would then have an interview with him. My anxiety for Ms. Hilles & the unprincipledness of his removal, and the appointment of a Marblehead man to succeed him, left but little room for me to reflect upon my future welfare whatever part I may take I shall make it my whole endeavour to look to the Interest of government with a jealous eye, but at the same time detest the present Administration more than ever. I pray God! no consideration however great may ever tempt me to use the means to get a livelihood, that have been used by W.R.L. & his coadjutors — I will not say anything more, for it would be impossible for me to find epithlets to express the indignation I feel at such onprincipled, such scandalous proceedings. Overcast unpleasant day. Eve sat out to walk to Pools; stopped by Mr Wm Proctor, to enquire respecting the news of the day, returned from thence read 2 of Burton's Lectures & to bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ 9. Vrey cool eve.

Saturday 14. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5. Wind N.W. Cloudy, but likely to clear o. Spent the morning writing. Afternoon, at the office till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4. After leaving the office called at the printing office for Mr Russell, & we walk'd to the turnpike together. Mr. R. drank coffee & spent the eve. at our house. Mr Thayer & wife went to Phillip's beach. To bed at 9.

Sunday 15. Rose at 6. Wind E. Rainy day. Parson McKeen, officiated for Dr Barnard & gave two excellent discourses, Historical & Moral, seasoned with suitable Reflections. Mr Morgan, to meet in the forenoon; I spent the evening in company with him at Mr Peabody's. Showers, very copious & easy. To bed at 9.

Monday 16. Rose at 5. Wind E. went directly to the office — to breakfast at 7. Colonel Lee moved in, in the afternoon. Left the office at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6. After coffee, walk'd to the turnpike, on my return stopped at Mr. Hiller's $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour — came home — read one of Burton's Lectures to my sister Sally & then walk'd to Pool's — on my return to Frye's Mills & round the shore, out by Mr

Tucker's shop. Beautiful eve after so much dull weather. To bed at 10.

Tuesday 17. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6. Wind N. & very hazy, dull weather, accompanied with some rain. Had the melancholy news of the death of Capt. Henry Clarke & Mr Nathaniel King. when such men as these die the people mourn. Mr Jos. Symonds & wife, Mrs Phelps, Mrs. Parker & Mrs. Francis, drank tea at our house. Eve walk'd round the square. Very warm; muggy evening, to bed at 10 O'clock.

Wednesday 18. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5. Wind N. E. & rainy. Eve walk'd to the Danvers Engine house, met my mother, returning from my sisters with Mr O. he returned & came home with her. Red one of Blair's Sermons & to bed at 9 O'clock.

Thursday 19. Rose at 6. Wind N. E. & a disagreeable day. Eve. walk'd to Pool's & directly back. Read two of Blair's sermons & to bed at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 9.

Friday 20. Rose at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 6. Wind W. & likely for a pleasant day, but was not, towards night it rain'd very hard. Mrs Thayer & Sally went up to Nancy's. I drank coffee alone — Mr Osborne, came with Mrs. T. & Sally in a chaise, at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8. I read three of Blair's Sermons in the eve, & at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9, it having ceased raining, walk'd to Pool's — home at 10 — after reading & writing half an hour, I retired to Rest.

Saturday 21. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6. Wind N. W. & pleasant. At noon returned to the Library, 3d Vol. Am. Musuem — 2d Johnson's Lives of the Poets, 8th & 11th Mavor's Collection & my Vol. of Port Folio, for the year 1801. Took out, 12th Vol. Ency. & 3d and 4th of Johnson's Lives of the Poets, At the office, till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6, in the Afternoon. After coffee, in company with Mrs Thayer, Sally & Oliver, walk'd to the turn-pike, gone an hour. Red two of Blair's Sermons & to bed at 10.

Sunday 22. Rose at 7. Wind N. W. After breakfast, walk'd over to Castle Hill Din'd at Mr Hiller's. Dr. B. officiated. Mr Tucker, drank coffee at our house. Very warm & muggy. Eve. clear walk'd to Pool's in company with Mr. Sibley, returned the back way to Frye's mills & bath'd. home at 8 — Mrs Kid & my mother spent

the eve at our house. Read 1 of Blair's Sermons & to bed at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 9.

Monday 23. Rose at 6. Wind N. W. beautiful morning & very serene air. Read one of Blair's Sermons from the following Text—"Be not weary in well doing, for in due season you shall reap, if you faint not." Very warm, sultry afternoon, eve. a little rainy, went down to the North river & bathed. read Three of Blair's Sermons. to bed at 10.

Tuesday Aug. 24. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ 6. Wind N. W. very pleasant, but rather warm. Noon wind N. E. & considerably cooler — Eve. overcast — walk'd to Pool's — Mr. Osborn & wife at our house — at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 went to Frye's Mills & bathed — returned home, read Johnson's life of Congret, one of the British Poets, & to bed at 10. The Lightning was very vivid all around the horizon, but not any Thunder. The Ship *Belisarius*, Capt Skerry, return'd having been struck with Lightning. One man killed. The mate & one man badly wounded. She sailed from this port the 12th Inst. The accident happened the 16th.

Wednesday 25. Rose at 6. Wind E to S. E. overcast & cool. Eve. went into the pastures at the south gate & came out at the north and directly home. Read two of Blair's Sermons & to bed at 10.

Thursday 26. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5. Wind S. W. Warm & pleasant — went to the office, before breakfast. Afternoon drank coffee alone — after coffee walk'd to Pool's & directly back — read Blair's Sermons & to bed at 10. Mrs Thayer spent the afternoon at Mrs. J. Chandlers.

Friday 27. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5. Wind S. W. to S. E. overcast, muggy weather — went as far as the begining of the turnpike. Eve. in company with James Kimball, walk'd to Pool's — home at 9, read part of one of Blair's Sermons — went with Sally to Mrs Chandler's and returned with her to my mother's, Jenny being so well as for them to do without watchers. To bed at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 10. A few days since, had an account of the arrival at the Vineyard, of the Big *William*, John Felt, master, from Batavia — that his mate & one man had died with the scurvy, & that Capt. F. was sick; this day, had the melan-

choly news of his death, by the arrival of Capt. Hull, from the Vineyard; he died on Monday and was buried on Tuesday. Capt. F. was a worthy upright citizen; in him the public have lost a worthy member of Society, & to a weeping family the loss is irreparable. The Brig arrived at this port this afternoon. (Salem).

Saturday 28. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5. Wind S. W. Overcast, but a dry agreeable air. Afternoon at the office. Eve. walked to Pool's. Read three of Blair's Sermons and to bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9.

Sunday, Aug. 29. Rose at 6. Wind S. E. Drizzly rain all day. Doctor Barnard gave an excellent discourse in the morning and Mr Kendal, the reverse in the afternoon; his affectation is so great, that his other qualities should be extremely brilliant to counterbalance them. C. B. Seccombs drank coffee at our house — eve walk'd to Pool's returned directly home, read three of Blair's Sermons — went with Sally to Mrs. Austin's — home and to bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9.

Monday 30. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5. Wind N. W. clear & every prospect of a pleasant day, but it directly clouded up & began to rain as it did yesterday; before I went to the office, walk'd to the turnpike; on my return, caught in a shower — came home shifted my jacket — read one of Blair's Sermons & then to the office. Afternoon, Mr Russell drank coffee with me; after coffee, we walk'd to the turnpike together; as far as Dr Pickerings tent; on our return parted at Mr Osborn's corner — Mr. Russell to the office, & I home, reading & writing till 10, & then to bed.

Tuesday 31. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5. Wind W. & a very warm day. After coffee in the afternoon, walk'd to the turnpike, returned home, read one of Blair's Sermons on the Creation. The mosquitoes so troublesome, I was obliged to go away. At Mr. O's. corner saw C. B. Seccomb, & we agreed to go to Phillip's Beach and spend the night; at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8, started from our house, went the road way, got there at 10, saw a light in the chamber, hesitated for sometime whether to call the folks & lodge in the house or go to the barn; while we were standing in status quo saw the great dog just before us asleep, We then retreated for the barn, the dog directly rose and towards us, we put on

resolution enough to face him & soon found him more wind than courage; we then went to the house again, & called the folks, a woman that lived with Mr P. was the only person, that was not in the arms of Morpheus, she came down and let us in, & we also retired to rest S. on the bed undressed & I through myself upon a Sophia, with my cloths on & should have rested very well, but the Sophia, was too short by a foot & having to place my feet in a chair a little higher than the Sophia, I did not rest remarkably well. At 3 O'clock I got up & lay down upon the bed, where I slept tolerably, till

Wednesday, Sept. 1. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4, When we turn'd out & went down to the beach, at 6 returned to the house again, & desired coffee might be ready as soon as possible; went down on the beach again & returned in half an hour — drank coffee — paid our scot & started across the fields for home; the dew being heavy, got considerably wet, & it being dry in the street the dirt stuck to our pantaloons & shoes & we made a curious figure; came across the pasture into the turnpike down to the north gate & directly to the office, where I arrived just before 9. Wind W. overcast & warm. Eve. walk'd to Pool's and directly back. My parents spent the eve, at our house. Being weary I went to bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8.

Thursday, Sept. 2. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5. Wind N. W. clear & cool, air very serene, spent the morning reading Johnson's Life of Richard Savage the Poet. Ship *Belsarius*, Samuel Skeery jr. master, sailed for Sumatra the third time; having twice put back, meeting with disasters. Eve walk'd to the turn pike & directly home; it being very cool, I went to bed at 9 O'clock. Ships *Pallas*, Dalling, & *Rising States*, Beckford, masters from Russia, *Betsey*, Blackler, Port Royal, & Brig *William & Henry*, Boden, from Cadiz; all belonging to William Gray Jr. arrived this day.

Friday, Sept. 3. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5. Wind N. W. clear and very cool. Read one of Blair's Lectures, & then went to market, bought a peck of Peaches, & 8 lbs butter. Noon, wind S. E. & cloudy. After noon, drank coffee alone, Mrs Thayer being up in Danvers. After coffee, went up there & at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8, came home with Mrs. Kimball and child in

a chaise; at the Danvers Engine House, met Mr Thayer going up. I went directly back with the chaise & left it for Mr Thayer & wife, & walk'd back a quick pace it being rainy; when I got to Mrs. Kimball's saw her at the window, called to her "I had got home before Mr Thayer—" Mr Thayer is up here says she, I told her it was impossible for I left him at Mr O's. but I found I was deceived, in taking Mr Frothingham for Mr Thayer, he coming to Mr O's door, just as I got back with the chaise. After I had been at home about half an hour Mr Frothingham came home with Sally & Mrs Thayer remained up in Danvers over night. To bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10.

Saturday 4. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5. Wind N. W. & rainy, soon cleared off pleasant, but very cool. Afternoon, at the office till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3, attended to the removal of such things as belonged to Mr. Miller; from the office came home. Gamalial at our house from Lynn, after coffee, went with him, to see a rock blown just within pasture gate; there were three blasts at once & the execution was great. The holes were eight feet deep & charged with 6 lbs of powder each. The explosion was not great. Spent the eve. at home it being so cold I could not go to walk. To bed at 9. Mrs Thayer & Mrs Orborne from Danvers.

Sunday 5. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5. Wind N. W. beautiful morning but rather cool, walk'd over to Phillips's beach where according to agreement, I met my friend Morgan, from Marblehead; he had been there ahead about 20 minutes; we went to the house, ask'd for coffee & sat down to amuse ourselves in reading, I having taken the Economy of Human Life, & Pope's Essay on Man, in my pocket, that no time might be lost. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7, our coffee being ready, we made a good breakfast & at 20 minutes past 8, set out round the shore to explore the end of the huge rocks, with which it is lined, we soon found the end & walked about a mile over a beautiful beach, where we met a carriage from Medford agoing down to Phillips's. We turned back & came to the road to the house having been gone about 2 hours. We went down to the beach, drank a little salt water each — returned to the house, had some crackers and milk, went down upon the rocks once more — soon returned to the house, paid our fare & at 20 minutes

before 11 started for home; left there 3 Ladies from Medford, who had spent the night there, & the carriage which we met had come for them. We came over Legges Hill & through the pastures, got home at 12. The forenoon was really beautiful, being just cool enough to walk, and the air was serene indeed; just before we got home, the clouds gather'd & look'd very much like rain, but did not have any. Mr Morgan, having engaged to go to Mr Ps. I could not get him to stop to dine with me. — Afternoon I went to meeting & Doctor Barnard gave an impressive Discourse from Math. 25 C 15 ver. Gamaliel & Mr Osborne, drank coffee at our house. Eve I walk'd to Pool's & directly back, read till 8 O'clock feeling weary & my eyes aching considerably, I went to bed. My Parents spent the eve. at our house.

Monday 6. Rose at 6. Wind N. W. but extremely cool. Eve. walk'd to Pool's & directly home again. At 9. went to the printing office, & in company with Isaac Cushing walk'd to the turnpike; home at 10, read the Newspaper & to bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10.

Tuesday 7. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5. Wind N to N. E. pleasant & cool. Work'd in the fields cutting up weeds a little time before breakfast. Red in the (torn . . .) "Moral Philosophy, or Morals," with which I was much pleased. At night walk'd round the square, & met Capt. S. Cook, with (torn . . .) to the turnpike; at 8 came home feeling weary & sleepy, went to bed at 9.

Wednesday 8. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ before 6. Wind N. overcast & cool; went to my fathers & piled about a cord & an half of wood before breakfast. My father informed me that Capt. Macarthy was dead; that he was taken bleeding & died in that condition. Capt. M. had been sick for a long time but had got cleverly & expected to be able to go to Sea soon, but alas, "Man knoweth not his time he cometh forth as a flower & is cut down." Last evening after I came from the office, I saw Capt. M. in company with Mr. Jenkins a going up to the turnpike. As I was a coming home Mr John Kimball informed me that Hy. Shad was dead. When I came from the office at night, the procession that followed Capt. Macarthy's body to the recepticle of the dead was a moving from off the hill. I

stood a few moments in silent mase, to see a fellow mortal deposited beneath the clods, who, the evening before I saw walking upon the earth. It brought to mind at once reflections both melancholy and pleasing; melancholy to think in what a sudden manner we may be called hence, and pleasing, as it served to remind me, what dependent beings the probationers of this earth are; and that we are all travelling the same road. The Free Masons, of which Capt. M. was one, walk'd in procession & the number of followers were numerous. Eve. walk'd to the common, from thence to Pool's and home. To bed at 9 O'clock.

Thursday 9. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5. Wind N. & cool, overcast disagreeable weather attended with rain. Eve. went in south gate & out the north, down to the printing office, got a paper, came home, read it, the weather being dull & rainy, & I feeling sleepy retired to rest at 8. Ship *Henry*, Smith, for Amsterdam; and Ship *Concord*, Carnes, for India, cleared.

Friday, Sept. 10. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5. Wind N. E. cool & lowery; at noon cleared off being very pleasant; after dinner, I walk'd to the turn-pike, further than I had ever been before; found the people very numerous & busily employed which was a pleasing sight. The land at the upper part of the road is very high and the prospect really beautiful, such as I had not the most distant idea of. Boston Bay, the entrance to Salem & Beverly, may all be brought into one view. Came directly back and to the office before 3 O'clock. After coffee, in the eve. walk'd to Pool's, on my return, at Buffum's corner, met Joshua Beckford, C. B. Seccomb & James Kimball; from them I received an invitation to go to the turnpike which I readily accepted; the moon being about at the full, the evening was uncommonly delightful, it being very serene & cool, & not a cloud to be seen. We went about half a mile further than I went at noon, & stopped at the third barrack, had short conversation with some of the workmen, who informed us there was one barrack beyond them, but we (torn) at the end of their work. Ask'd them some questions respecting the wall they were laying, they informed us in one place they expected to build at 30 feet in height. Being highly gratified with our excursion we started for

home, where we arrived at 9 O'clock. After writing an hour I retired to rest, highly pleased with the manner in which I spent the evening.

Saturday 11. Rose at 5. Wind W. beautiful morning — went to the office before breakfast. This day made an agreement with the Collector & Naval officer respecting a compensation to be allowed me, for my services in the Custom House. The Ships *Henry & Concord*, sailed. Afternoon I sat out alone to travel through the turnpike; at Lynn, I stopped in a field with three men, with them I got into conversation, & soon found that one of them owned the field in which they were; they had been fencing out land for the turnpike "I have been offered 100 £ for an Acre of this land since it was known that the turnpike would pass through it. What did you value your land at per acre before you knew the turnpike would pass through it?" 100 Dollars. I think your estate is much more valuable for the turnpike passing through it; yes but then I hadn't much land; and I didn't want them to take my land." I thought it was arguing against the grain, & as I had yet a long way to travel, the usual compliments were exchanged, & I went musing on, revolving in my mind the natural propensity of mankind to complain. I kept on my course till I came to Saugus River, so called. On my return, I stopped a few moments in converse with two men, they were wheeling on the marsh, one of them was quite moderate, but the other, an elderly man, seemed inclined to complain — "I think it's a dam'd foolish piece of business in making this road, what do you think of it?" I think, sir, it serves to circulate money & make business brisk; but there, this also was arguing to no purpose for he was possessed with certain notions (torn) depart from, It now being past 5 O'. I took my leave (torn) towards home, where I arrived at 7—hungrey, thirsty & (torn) made me some coffee & at a little past 9 I retired (torn)

Sunday, Sept. 12. Rose at ½ past 1, went down to North River & (torn) in Dean Street, out upon business, his wife (torn) home & went to bed again & slept tolerably till (torn) found myself very weary and got up (torn) again. Wind W. & warm. Mr Dupee (torn) made a visit from Boston. Dr. Barnard preached (torn)

in the afternoon; their Doctrine, or principals (torn) Eve. in company with James Kimball, walk'd (torn) went upon the hills in the great pasture. (torn)

Monday 13. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5. Wind W. & very warm (torn) Osborne's to see Mr Dupee & wife, as they were going (torn) the Sun was extremely powerful, but there was a (torn) down through North fields to the office. Eve in company with C. B. Seccomb, walk'd to the sign of the Eagle — stopt at his father's a few moments & then started for home. To bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9.

Tuesday 14. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5. Wind W. beautiful morning, very serene air. At (torn) very heavy rain, which continued about 15 minutes; Noon (torn) very pleasant till night, when the clouds gradually gathered (torn) quarter, and the whole horison was completely involved in (torn) light. The rain was very copious — the Lightning not (torn) I have before seen, or the thunder so heavy as I have before (torn) excepting two or three claps, which, from information received must have exploded — the storm was very extensive, having done considerable damage thirty miles to the westward, & Capt. Lander, who arrived from Aux Cayes, says the lightening without any cessation, scarcely, continued for the space of 15 minutes at a time. The thunder purified the air amazingly. The lightning struck Mr Briggs rope walk in the town, & a fish house belonging to Mr Hooper, in Marblehead. I retired to rest at a few moments past 9, the storm then had much abated.

Wednesday 15. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4. Wind S. & a most delightfull morning — the moon Heaven's lamp, shone with resplendent brightness & the stars added to the clearness of the sky made an inexpressible beautiful appearance. It being too early to read or write, I started for a short walk, while solemn silence reign'd but not determining which way to bend my course, I stopped at my Father's half an hour spliting wood — from thence I came home & read Johnson's Life of Pitt, & Thompson, British Poets; eve. walk'd to Pool's — on my return stopped at Mr. Osborn's store a few moments & from thence home, read a few chapters in the bible & to bed at 9. The weather being exceeding warm, I slept with the eastern window wide-open,

which I had not done before for the season. Recd pr Capt. Fabens, a letter from my friend Knight at Baltimore.

Returned to the Library (torn) Vol. Ency & 3 & 4th volumes of Johnson's Lives of the Poets. took out 17th volume Marvo's Voyages & 1 & 2 volumes of the Visitor. Brought to the office, the 1st volume of Alexander's History of Women of which I read 300 pages & returned it on Monday morning; a very (torn) work indeed. Spent the afternoon at home. Eve. walk'd to Pool's. Edward & Gracy at our house. Spent the evening reading (torn). To bed at 10 O'clock. Warm & pleasant.

Sunday, 19. Rose at 6. Wind N. W. clear & pleasant. A young man from the Eastward officiated for Dr. Barnard all day; quite a zealous preacher and in time with attention I think will make a good speaker. After dinner, brother Edward and I walked to the turnpike; the sun very warm. Eve walk'd by the sign out through Aborn street. Spent the eve. at home. to bed at 9 O'clock.

Monday, 20. Rosa at $\frac{1}{4}$ before 6. Wind S. overcast & warm. Eve. with James Kimball, walk'd to Pool's. home at 8 O'clock. my Parents & Mrs. Amos Foster, spent the eve. at our house. To bed at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 10.

Tuesday, 21. Rose at $\frac{1}{4}$ before 6. Wind W. Hazy, with quick lightening & some thunder. Eve walk'd to Pool's & directly back. The Salem Militia turn'd out in the afternoon & had a very pleasant time. Mrs. Thayer drank coffee at our mother's. I spent the eve at home with Sally, reading the Visitor a series of numbers upon various subjects, written in England during the year 1760, & originally published on Saturdays in the Public Ledger, but afterwards collected and published in Two Volumes Duodicimo. Many of these Essays are really excellent. To bed at 9.

Wednesday, 22. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5. Wind S. W. and very showery. The Cadet company under the command of Israel Williams & the Artillery company under Capt. Brooks turned out this afternoon & owing to the frequent showers throughout the day had quite a disagreeable time. Eve. walked to Pool's & directly back. Stopped at Mr. O's. store about half an hour and then (torn) few numbers of the Visitor. Mrs. Thayer spent the afternoon (torn)

Thayer's. Sally lay down with an intention to take a (torn) not get one. She sat up with Mrs. Saunders, I went down (torn) her at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9. After I went to bed, Mrs. Phipp's came for (torn) to set up also. I got up put on my trowsers & wrapper & went (torn) her likewise. returned directly home & to bed at 10.

Thursday, Sept. 23. Rose at 5. Wind S. W. and heavy rain—spent the morning (torn) Afternoon drank coffee, with Mr. John Russell—After coffee (torn) down to Mr. Butman's store—from thence we walk'd to Frye's (torn) on our return I parted from them (Butman & Russell) at Mr. Osborne's store, it now coming to rain considerably. At 8 O'clock Mr. Knight came to Mr. O's store & said his son David was missing; Capt. Ives & W. Osborne said they saw him in company with another boy upon the turnpike; Mr. Knight went home, got a lanthorn, came to the store again & I started with him for the turnpike. we stopped at the 1st & 2nd barracks where we obtained information of them and that they had passed up just before dark. It now being extremely dark & rainy & the going very rough, Mr. K. seemed undetermined about going to the third (torn) but finally consented if it was agreeable to me—perfectly—We (torn) very well and got there without much difficulty; here, we obtained (torn) that they had passed down the road; it now wanted 18 minutes of 9; we (torn) good night & bent our course for home, expecting to find David at the (torn) alas! he was not. After being at the house at few moments, Mr. Hy. (torn) came to see if he had got home. We now agreed to get another lanthorn and set out again; not knowing where the other lad was, we came to Mr. Abel (torn) and to Mr. Symonds to see if neither of their lads were out finding they were not, Mr. Knight and myself went into the south gate & Mr. (torn) Mr Gardner into the north gate; just after we had got over the first (torn) our light left us, we went immediately to Mr O & G. & lit our (torn) upon consultation being so few in number we agreed to come back again get more people and more lanthorns; Mr K. went for Deacon Batchelder & I to Mr. Hiller's & got a lanthorn; I proceeded alone through the south gate along the southern side of the pasture till I got to where Medcalf formerly lived;

here my light failed & I went in pursuit of Mr O & G. who were near at hand, with them I kept company for a considerable time. We came round by Cole's spring with an intention of passing over towards the turnpike; here we had a pretty decent shower—it seemed to rain without any trouble. After stopping a few moments we crossed over to the northern side of the pasture & got upon a hill, and saw a number of lights. I descended the hill to go towards the lights, I had an Irish histe a peg lower, not being aware of the steepness of the hill I set out upon a moderate walk, but soon found myself necessitated to take the precaution of a drunken person, and run to keep myself from falling, but when I came to the valley I could not stop & I finally lay sprawling. However, no damage was sustained. We now met pretty much together and agreed to go upon the turnpike, and call; we accordingly did and finally succeeded at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12 we found them about a quarter of a mile out of the Road. Here was (torn) we had proceeded. The lad that was with him (torn) Just before finding them we learnt who the (torn) with him, by overtaking Mr. Gale, who was in pursuit of his (torn) all parties off for home, where we arrived at 1 O'clock. wet enough—(torn) glad enough & all alive and well.—I took a draught (torn) and stript off all my cloths, even my shirt, put two (torn) my bed in addition to my bed cloths, and turned in (torn) yes, as naked as Adam was, before he eat the forbidden (torn) I soon got to sleep, but waked a number of times before morning.

Friday, 24. Rose at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 7. Wind S. W. & rainy. Rained all day. Eve at Mr. O's store till 8 O'clock. when I came home & went directly to bed.

Saturday, 25. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5. Wind N. W. & at noon spent the morning reading & writing. Pleasant but cool. Afternoon in company with J. Russell walked through the pastures, over Legges hill to Phillips's beach. Near Col. Pickman's farm, in the pasture saw a large black snake, coiled up on top of a barbary bush; I pelted him some time with stones, but he finally disappeared. Got to the beach at $\frac{1}{4}$ before 4. Went down upon the rocks, & back to the house—had coffee (torn) 5. at 20 minutes past 5, set out round the beach for home, stopt

sometime on the beach to view the movement of the waves, which were awfully beautiful. (torn) and over, thro' the fields & came out by Friend Northey's house, down through the fields; got home at 7—had quite an agreeable time. Spent the evening reading & writing & to bed at 9.

Sunday, 26. Rose at 6. Wind E. Pleasant but cold. After breakfast gathered about half a bushel of beans. Doctor Barnard gave an excellent discourse in the forenoon, from (torn) part of 17 ver. "without Hypocrisy." The afternoon, upon the Immortality of the Soul. Reading & writing till dark, after which I went down to Mr Peabody's to see Mr Morgan, with whom I spent an hour and an half. Mr. M. was quite unwell (torn) having a Relax upon him. Home at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 8—Read a few chapters in the Bible & to bed at 9 O'clock.

Monday, 27. Rose at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 6. Wind E. overcast, disagreeably cold. Spent the morning writing. Eve. walked to Pool's & to the printing office—came home read the paper & to bed at 9.

Tuesday, 28. Rose at 6. Wind N. W. & pleasant. Eve walk'd to Pool's.

Wednesday, 29. Rose at 6. Wind N. W. & pleasant, but very cool. eve. walk'd to Pool's & directly back spent the evening in company with my sister Sally reading. Mrs Thayer spent the afternoon at Mrs. Francis's. To bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9.

Thursday, Sept. 30, 1802. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6. Wind N. W. cool & pleasant. After breakfast went directly to the office, spent half an hour there & then walked to Beverly Bridge. After dinner walk'd to the turnpike. Eve. spent an hour at Mr Osborne's store. from thence home it being extreemly cool, found the fire a very good servant. To bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9. Thus ends my Diary from Apl. 1st to Sept. 30.

Jany. 1st, Saturday, 1803. Rose at $\frac{1}{4}$ before 7. Wind W. and a most delightful morning; before I left my chamber the Collector called for me, to go to the Office, and I accordingly did before breakfast. After dinner, went to the Office, cut some Registers &c. Home at 4 O'clock. made a fire in my chamber, and at 5 sat down, to reading and writing till 9 O'clock. when I started for a walk to Pool's and

directly back, again sat down in my chamber till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10, when I retired to rest in excellent spirits.

Sunday, 2. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7. Wind N. and moderate. At Noon wind S. towards night overcast and much like foul weather. After Coffee in the Afternoon, walk'd up Boston & through Aborn streets—stopt at my Father's, spent an hour there and then home. Coming up Flint street, I met Capt. Hy. Saunders, who informed me his prize had arrived at Charleston, S. C. in 33 days after his leaving her. At home found M. J. Frothingham and Miss Polly Austin, Mr. Thayer & Wife were in at Mr. M. Pitman's. I went in to inform Mrs Thayer she had company at home. I stayed at Mr Pitman's till 9 during which time I read a Sermon, delivered at Portsmouth, N. H. near 40 years since, setting forth the inconsistance of the doctrine of Predestination. I was much pleased with same, home and to bed soon after 9. Slept but indifferently, wind very heavy and pretty cold—towards morning somebody came to call Mr Clifton, to go to the wharf to see to a Sloop, which had gone upon stage point.

Monday, 3. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ 7. Wind N. E. and a severe cold snow storm, which continued till past noon. I did not leave the Office till night. After Coffee, went to my Mothers, from thence to Mr Osborne's store; here I heard Capt. D. Tucker had arrived from Norfolk, the last night. He just escaped the storm. Went to see Mr E. Bowditch, Capt. T's. mate—stayed at his house till near 10 O'clock. Came home, read a lecture of Dr Hunter's sacred Biography of Moses—and to bed at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 10—Slept indifferently.

Tuesday, 4. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7. Wind N. W. clear and very cold. Ther. at 7 above in the morn'g. Spent part of the evening with Mr. Hiller and part of his family, very agreeably. Home at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8. My Parents Hannah Manning and Sarah Gardner, I found at our house. They all stayed till near 10 O'clock. after they were gone, I read one of Dr Hunter's Lectures and to bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10. Slept very well.

Wednesday, Jany. 5. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7. Wind W. and moderate—pleasant & overcast alternately through the day; towards P. M. the Wind changed to S. W. and in the

evening. began to Rain, and rained all night. The weather being very warm the Rain carried off all the snow ere morning, and the streets were very muddy indeed. This evening held our Annual meeting at the Library room; chose a Moderator, Treasurer and three Trustees, for the ensuing year; agreed to admit new members at the first subscription, and examined into the state of funds; found 7 Dollars unexpended and collected Twenty odd Dollars in fines. Adjourned at 8 O'clock. Spent an hour at Mr. O's store—came home—read one of Hunter's Lectures, and to bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9. Slept indifferently.

Thursday, 6. Rose at 8. Wind S. W. and blew very strong, attended with some rain. before breakfast went upon the hills. Morg. Ther. at 50. Noon. Wind changed to N. W. Ther. 60. Before night, began to clear off and the evening very pleasant—soon began to cloud up again & grow cold—by 9 O'clock. froze pretty stiff—Spent the evening at Mr. O's store—Mr. Kimball's Shop—My Parents, & at the printing Office—home at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9—Read one of Hunter's Lectures, and to bed at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 10.

Friday, 7. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7. Wind N. W. and overcast. Ther. 24. Before breakfast walk'd upon the hills. Forenoon overcast. Afternoon, pleasant and a most beautiful serene air. helped Mr Parker split a number of logs of Wood—spent an hour with Mr Bowditch & Wife—came home, wrote a Letter, and started alone to walk—went down Derby, to the lower end and out of neck-gate, up through Essex Street—At the head of St. Peter's Street overtook Wm Cushing, with him I walk'd up street, & parted from him at Beckford Street. I then went upon the hills in at the South & out at the North gate, into Federal Street—stopt at Mr Kimball's Shop a few moments and then home—read one of Hunter's Lectures, and to bed at 11 O'clock. Before I went to sleep, observed it was cloudy. Slept indifferently.

Saturday, 8. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7. Wind S. W. overcast & raw cold Ther 20. Mr Blanchard cut my hair this morning. In the Afternoon, assisted Mr Flanders in raising a building for a dwelling house. Very pleasant evening, but extreemly windy. Mr Abel Gardner, and my Father spent the evening with me at my chamber. At a

quarter before 8, I started to walk up to Danvers, to see my Sister, who, at 10 O'clock this morning was delivered of a daughter; found her very comfortable and returned directly home. It was now 10 O'clock. came directly to my chamber, read several chapters of the Gospel of St. Mark, and retired to rest at 11 O'clock. Slept very well.

Sunday, 9. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7. Wind N. W. clear and cold—made a fire in my chamber—read several chapters of the Gospel of St. Mark & Luke. After breakfast went in to the pasture & over to Castle Hill, in company with John Moody—returned home, read till I thot' it time to go to meeting—after I got out found I was rather late, and accordingly, went over North bridge, round by Gardner's Farm, stopt at Nancy's a few moments and then home. After dinner Mr. Dow, spent half an hour with me—informed me a young man by the name of Thompson officiated for Dr. Barnard, and gave an excellent Discourse from these words, "Love Thy Neighbr." Went to meeting in the Afternoon, and was highly pleased with the manners and Discourse of Mr. Thompson. His text was from these words, "Her Ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace." He began by giving a definition of the of the word Wisdom, as here rendered by Solomon—which is, true Piety & Love to God. He then shew in a concise manner the difference between vice and virtue, and contrasted the beauty of the latter with the odiousness of the former. Noted the benefits the rich were able to grant to the poor, and, concluded with the beauty of holiness, and the serenity that pure Religion diffused on the countenance. Spent the evening home reading and writing. At 9 O'clock. walk'd to the sign of the Eagle and directly back to bed at 10 O'clock. Slept indifferently. Beautiful evening, but cold.

Monday, 10. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7. Wind S. W. Raw cold and overcast. before breakfast walk'd upon the hills. At noon, air very mild. Mr Isaac Thayer, Wm Cloan & Mrs C. Harrison, dined at our house. Took Court's Josephus from the Social Library. Spent the eveng partly at home and partly at Mr Gardner's. At 10 O'clock. went to the printing Office, got a paper & came directly home &

to bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10. No great inclination to sleep, but, when I fell asleep, slept tolerably well.

Tuesday, 11. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7. Wind S. W. overcast and very mid and much like fair Weather. Before breakfast walk'd upon the hills round South Shore and through the Hathorne field, found the weather very placid indeed. Spent the evening at Mr Gardner's. To bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10.

Wednesday, 12. Rose at 7. Wind S. W. overcast & warm. Walk'd to Pool's before breakfast. Rained a little in forenoon. Recd a Letter from my friend Knight at Baltimore, in which he says, a number of my friends have lately gone off with a bilious Fever! He also relates that, a number of Sailors having assembled at an house of ill fame in their frenzy murdered a man.—that a woman having a bloody shawl on was taken up and confined, but that the Perpetrators of the crime had fled. Thus much from bad women. Gamaliel at our house from Lynn. At 10 O'clock came to my chamber with an intention of retiring to rest; but did not; went below again, eat some crackers and milk, and at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 had intimation of Mrs Gardner's being taken very ill; having fainted away and being in a fit; I went to see her, & remained there till 12 O'clock when she came to, and was tolerably easy, altho' had been much distressed. To bed soon after 12. Slept very well for the first part of the night, but being awaked by the rain, did not sleep much after day light. Dined with Colo. Lee, much pleased with his Lady, an amiable woman indeed—possessing a great share of parental affection and humanity.

Thursday, 13. Rose at 7. Wind S. W. and very warm—light rain—before breakfast, walked upon the hills, and thro' Federal, into Dean Street and home. Before noon the Wind changed to N. W. & blew a little. Eveng very mild. at Mr. O's. store half an hour—went to see Mr. Hiller—not at home—spent half an hour with my Parents—home at 7 O'clock. Spent the residue of the eveng reading Flavius Josephus History of the Jews, &c. To bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10.

Friday, 14. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7. Wind N. E. overcast and warm—Noon rained very hard and continued raining till the Moon rose, which was about 12 O'clock when it was

fair weather and very pleasant. Spent part of the eveng at Mr Osborne's store. at 7 O'clock. got some raisins & came home & cracked some nuts. to bed at 10 O'clock.

Saturday, 15. Rose at 7. Wind S. W. very warm and pleasant—before breakfast walk'd to Pool's. Wrote to my Sister Sally—Afternoon went to Danvers. Drank Coffee with Sara & spent the evening there. to bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10. Beautiful day and very warm for the season.

Sunday, 16. Rose at 7. Wind S. W. and chilly. pleasant and cloudy alternately. Dr. Barnard preached. After Coffee in the Afternoon walk'd in the pastures with John Moody. Eveng at Mr Devereux Dennis's wedding—spent the eveng very agreeably—home & to bed at 11 O'clock. The Ship *Fame*, Jere. Briggs commander got under way bound for India, this afternoon, and anchored below the Fort.

Monday, 17. Rose at $\frac{1}{4}$ before 7. Wind N. W. clear and cold. Went to my Father's and split some wood, and walk'd upon the hills before breakfast—saw the *Fame* below the Fort, she soon after got under sail with a fair wind and enough of it to set her well off before night. I spent the eveng with Sarah—Home, and to bed at 10 O'clock.

Tuesday, Jany. 18. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2. Wind N. W. clear and very cold. Read 100 pages of Zimmermann on Solitude. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6, went to my father's & split some wood half an hour. Spent the eveng partly at Mr. Osborne's store and partly at Mr Hiller's. at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 went home with Sally Pope—to bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10.

Wednesday, 19. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7. Wind N. W. clear and cold. Ther. 9. walked upon the hills before breakfast. Evening at Mr Osborn's store till 7. spent the residue of the eveng at the Widow Pitman's with Sarah. home and to bed at 11 O'clock. On the Mill pond.

Thursday, 20. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7. Wind N. W. Clear and cold. overcast towards night. Eveng Wind N. E. went up to Nancy's with Mrs Thayer & Sarah. home at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9—Mrs Thayer unwell and did not come home with us. Mr Thayer went for her with a horse & chaise—she got home at $\frac{1}{4}$ before 11. Read one of Hunter's Lectures and to bed at 11. On the Mill pond.

Friday, 21. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7. Wind N. E. and Snow. raw cold day. Spent the evening at Mr Osborn's store in Co. with Capt. N. Ropes & Capt. Ives. home and to bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9. Read one of Hunter's Lectures. Ship *Prudent* arrived.

Saturday, 22. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7. Wind N. overcast and cold. Afternoon at the Office. At noon, took from the Library, 6 & 8th Vols. A. Museum & 2d Vol. of Adventure. Eve. went to Mrs Lydia Richards' with Sarah, left her and came to Mr Osborn's store & from thence home at 7 O'clock. Mr Josiah Austin, Mr Hy. Osborn & Capt. Wm Ives, spent an hour with me, perusing my books and looking at my pictures. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 they left, & I spent half an hour agreeably indeed, reading Zimmermann's on Solitude. In my ideas this is a delightful thing and the Author must have been a happy man. At 9 O'clock. went and gallanted Sarah home and returned directly to my chamber again, read till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 O'clock. and then retired to rest.

Sunday, 23. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7. Wind N. W. mild and pleasant. made a fire in my chamber & spent the day at home, except attending public worship. After dinner, Mr Saml Dewey & Wm Cushing spent half an hour with me. Wrote to Mr Morgan & forwarded my letter by Mr D. Ward. Spent the eveng with Sarah—home, and to bed at 11 O'clock. Overcast & Much like snow.

Monday, 24. Rose at 7. Wind N. W. and very cold disagreeable weather, being windy and very dusty. In the eveng went to see Mr Hiller & family. They were preparing for removing and were all in arms as the saying is. At 7 O'clock. came home, stopt a few moments and then went and spent the evening with Sara, her & my parents spent the evening at our house. I came home at 10—cracked some nuts, eat them and retired to rest at 11. Very cold.

Tuesday, January 25. Rose at 7. Wind N. W. overcast & chilly—at noon, wind S. and much like snow—after dinner Daniel & I went over to Castle Hill House. Mr Hiller sent to our house, three boxes, contg books and papers to remain under my care till he should call for them. After Coffee, made a fire in my chamber and seated myself down to reading, and read till 11 O'clock. then

put out my light, warmed my feet and retired to rest. At 8 O'clock went below to the door—dark and snowy. Spent the evening reading Zimmermann on Solitude—this is a work which I am highly delighted with; his observations with respect to solitude on the mind and heart are beautiful indeed.

Wednesday, 26. Rose at 7. Wind W. overcast and pleasant alternately through the day—weather very mild indeed, after dinner walk'd with Daniel, thro' the Hathorne field out into the great pasture—stopt and helped Mr J. Cross jr. saw timber about an hour—Afternoon drank Tea with Mr M. Pitman, in Co. with Sally Pope, Sally Smith & Patty Woodberry. At 7 O'clock came home to show Mrs Pitman's company my pictures &c. returned with them to Mrs P—& Sarah being there, I spent the evening with them. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9, the company being gone, I went home with Sarah and staid till 11 O'clock when I came home and retired to rest. Overcast and like foul weather. Mrs Thayer up, Lion being on the bed and she afraid to take him off, thinking he would bite her.

Thursday, 27. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7. Wind N. E. and snow. Snowed all day. Very moderate. After dinner, spent an hour with Sarah, and read three of Burton's Lectures concerning family government and the requisites for female Education. These Lectures were delivered before a School of Females. they contain many beautiful observations upon really useful subjects to persons both in affluent and indigent circumstances. Sarah spent the evening at our house. She went home at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9. Cleared off very pleasant indeed. Waited upon Sara home, and returned directly to my chamber, sat down and read Zimmermann till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10, then wrote a long letter to my dear Sister, and retired to rest at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12 O'clock. Slept sound till morning.

Friday, 28. Rose at 7. Wind W.S.W. clear & cold—after breakfast walk'd upon the hills, returned home, read a few pages of Barlow's Advice to the Privileged Orders, upon the Administration of Government, upon which he speaks in very high terms of the Laws of the United States, and particularly of the State of Connecticut. the place of his nativity. Previous to going to the Office, I stopped

to see Sara a few moments. At noon, I spent half an hour with her and then returned home and wrote a letter to Hubbard. Spent the evening at home in my chamber writing. Read 20 pages of Flavius Josephus's History of the Jews; (here he quotes at length from Josephus.) The Oil in my lamp being spent, I retired to rest at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 10 O'clock.

Saturday, Jan'y 29. Rose at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 6. Wind N. W. and cold—made a fire in my chamber, and read 50 pages of Zimmermann on solitude before I went to breakfast. At 11 O'clock. I came from the office to inform Jenny & Sarah, that the stage would call for them at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12. In the afternoon went to Putnam's Tavern in Danvers, up the W. and down the N. road. had a mug of flip—baled the horse and got home at 4 O'clock. After coffee walk'd to Marblehead, found Jenny and Sarah at Mr Thayer's—spent half an hour at Mr Thayer's and then went with Sarah to her Aunt Turner's, here I spent $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour and went in pursuit of Mr Morgan, but did not see him. Spent an hour very agreeably with his landlady and at little past 9 O'clock. took my leave. She related many humorous anecdotes of that singular genius, Mather Byles. Stopped at Mr Thayer's on my return. Left them at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 and got home at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 precisely. Did not meet anybody after leaving Marblehead, excepting one sleigh with a man and woman in it, and near Mr Derby's farm, a dog in the street. Eat 2 crackers—put a little fire in my chamber—read a few pages of Zimmermann, and retired to rest at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11—Slept indifferently.

Sunday, 30. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7. Wind S. W. moderate and cloudy. Spent the day at home, reading Josephus, History of the Jews. At noon, wind began to blow very heavy attended with snow, which soon changed to rain. Received a letter from Hubbard, in which he informs me Sally wished to spend a little more time at Boston, but shall not unless she can hear that it is agreeable to Mam. Towards night rained very hard. Spent the evening at Mr Gardner's. home at 9 O'clock. Read several chapters of the Acts of the Apostles. to bed at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 10.

Monday, 31. Rose at 7. Wind N. W. clear and cold. Afternoon Jenny & Sara returned from Marblehead. Spent the eveng with Sara. To bed at 11 O'clock. A few minutes after I had turned in went down and let John in. Slept indifferently.

Tuesday, Feby. 1. Rose at 7. Wind N. W. & pleasant. soon became cloudy, but cleared off again before noon—at noon very pleasant but extremely cold. Before breakfast spent $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour with James Kimball. Spent the eveng at home reading the *Adventurer* a periodical Work by John Hawesworth, written about 50 years since. Mam & Mrs Thayer spent part of the eveng with me. To bed at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 11.

Wednesday, 2. Rose at 7. Wind S. W. Warm overcast, with a little rain. Spent the eveng at Mrs Gardner's. Eveng very heavy rain which carried off all the snow & ice. left Sara at 11 O'clock. and went to Mrs Upton's and spent the night with Mr Tufts, who set up with Mrs Upton's child that died at noon. I read, Burroughs memoirs till I was very sleepy indeed. After 1 O'clock I felt refreshed and did not feel disposed to sleep again till towards morning. at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6 came home and slept till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8. Mr B. Proctor buried today. Thursday.

Thursday, 3. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8. Wind S. very warm and showery all day, at little past 5 O'clock. P. M. had very heavy Thunder and vivid lightning, attended with heavy showers—Ther. 48. Spent the eveng with Sara—home at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9. Sat down to reading, but soon feeling drousy at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 10 was about going to bed, but before I got undressed Mr Clifton came and desired me to come in and take a dish of coffee, his wife having just got to bed. Went in & spent an hour with them—To bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11.

Friday, 4. Rose at 7. Wind N. W. and very cold. Ther. 18. Sara & I spent the eveng with my Parents. Very cold indeed. Home and to bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11. John Thayer at our house from New Salem. Mrs Upton's child buried.

Saturday, 5. Rose at $\frac{1}{4}$ before 6. Wind N. W. and cold. Ther. 13. Made a fire in my chamber in the morning. At noon, wind S. W. overcast and very chilly. Spent an hour with Sara, after dinner, and at home the remain-

der of the Afternoon. Mr Davis, Wife and child & Mrs Ben. Thayer drank coffee at our house. Spent the evening at Mrs Upton's. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 O'clock sat down to supper of baked beans at Mrs Gardner's just before we had done supper Mrs Parker came in and said there was fire cried and that the bells rung. This proved a false alarm—the bell in the eastern part of the town rung for 9 O'clock just before 10, and that was the cause of fire being called. I returned, finished my supper, came home and went to bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10. Snowed very fast at 10 O'clock but soon changed to rain.

Sunday, 6. Rose at 8. Wind S. W. and overcast. Made a fire in my chamber and spent the day at home, reading the Bible, Josephus's history of the Jews and detached pieces in the A. Museum. After dinner went upon the hills—Rained very hard most all day. Eve. went to see my father, who was confined with the Rheumatism. Spent $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour and returned home & spent $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour with Mr Cross, at 7 O'clock went to see Mr Dennis with whom I spent the evening in company with Sara. Home at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11, lighted my lamp and read till 12 and then retired to rest. Slept very well.

Monday, Feby. 7. Rose at 6. Wind SW and very warm. more like May than February. walk'd to Pool's before breakfast, on my return went in at the N. gate, up the turnpike and came out at the S. gate Wrote to Capt. E. Upton and N. Knight at Baltimore—spent the eve. at Mr D. Dennis's in company with Mr C. B. Seccombs & wife, and Sara—home at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10, and to bed at 11.

Tuesday, 8. Rose at 7. Wind SW. overcast, warm drisley rain. Joshua Cross Jr raised his house this morning—spent an hour helping. Before noon the weather very pleasant indeed. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 1 O'clock this morning Mr Aaron Osborn departed this life. After dinner wrote to my sister Sally at Boston. Sara G. drank coffee and spent the evening at our house. Sara went home at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 and I stay'd till near 1. To bed at 1. Eveng read several detached pieces upon various subjects in the 6 Vol. of the A. Museum.

Wednesday, 9. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6. Wind cool and W.—overcast most all day. Afternoon drank coffee at my

Mother's with Mrs Thayer. Mr Thayer & Jenny attended the interment of Mr Osborn—at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6, I came home, lit a candle and read a few pages of Young's Night thoughts—at 7, went to spend the evening with Sara—Mrs Gardner went to see my father, he being sick with the Rheumatism. I came home at 9 O'clock. got my wrapper & spencer and went to my mother's where I staid till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 1 O'clock. and then came home and went to bed.

Thursday, 10. Rose at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 7—Wind NW. very windy, clear & cold—Mr Osborn & wife dined at our house. After dinner, spent an hour with Sara, reading the Vicar of Wakefield. Spent the evening at home in my chamber reading in the A. Museum, except $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour, which I spent in at Mr Gardner's. Being sleepy and my eyes aching very much, I went to bed at 9 O'clock.

Friday, 10. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6. Wind S. W. mild and clear. Very bad pain in my bowels. Made a fire in my chamber before breakfast & sat down to read, when breakfast was ready, could not eat any, until I had walk'd upon the hills. At 8 O'clock. felt cleverly. Mr Caleb Prentiss Pastor of a Church in Reading, and Mrs. Rebecca Dean of the town buried today. At noon, stopped to see my father; found him quite unwell and requested him to advise with the Doctor. yesterday—sent by Capt. Archer for my sister to come home. Spent the evening at home in my chamber. To bed at 11.

Saturday, 12. Rose at 7. Wind S. W. and pleasant. Mr Isaac Thayer Wife & child, dined at our house; in the Afternoon, they, with Mr S. Thayer & Wife, went to Danvers. Spent part of the Afternoon at Mrs Gardner's, walk'd upon the hills at 3 O'clock. & out into Essex Street—stopt at Mr Osborn's store half an hour, and from thence home, & sat down to read. Evening, Sara & I spent at my Parent's. home at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9, and to bed at 10.

Sunday, Feby 13—Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5. Wind S. Weather flattering. Walk'd to Phillip's beach alone—went the road-way, and over Legges hill—just after descending the hill, began to rain—crossed through the fields over to the beach about 1 mile below the house—did not find the motion of the waters turbulent—some disappointed in my object in not finding the waters in greater agitation.

Coursed up the beach, and over the rocks beyond the house—At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7, went to the house—one man up and Peturah out to milking—called for a bowl of milk & some crackers—had a room to myself—read Thompson's Winter—eat my bread and milk, which made my head ache. At $\frac{1}{4}$ before 9 I started for home—before I got home, considerable rain fell. Soon after the sun rose it shone clear and was very pleasant—got home at 10 O'clock. did not see one human being from the time I left home, till I got back again, except the people at the house, & one or two persons as I came over the hills in the Great Pasture. When I arrived at home found Hubbard and Sally from Boston—they returned in the afternoon—started at 3 O'clock. and had a very unpleasant time; soon after they left, it rained very hard, and continued raining most all night. Had a fire in my chamber most all day—spent the afternoon reading, and the evening with Sara—home, and to bed at 11 O'clock.

Monday, 14. Rose at 7 Wind N. E. and Hail storm, disagreeable cold weather—Evening, made a fire in my chamber—read Pope's Odyssey, till 9 O'clock. wrote till 11, and then to bed. Evening considerable snow fell.

Tuesday, 15. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6. Wind cold and pleasant—morning made a fire in my chamber and sat down writing till 9—at noon put my fire together and wrote till 3—Miss Mary West, Aged 86, & Mr Danl Needham, buried. Spent the evening at Mrs Gardner's in company with Nancy Cross—at 9 O'clock. went home with her, & returned and staid with Sara till 11—then went and watched with my father.

Wednesday, 16. Came from my father's at 7 O'clock. Wind N. and cold. Quite heavy all the forenoon. At noon, went and helpt get my father out of bed; went to the doctor's to get some medicine &c. Spent an agreeable evening at Mr Tuft's with Sara. Nancy Cross, there about an hour—home at 10 O'clock. and directly to bed. Very much like snow. Wind N. E.

Thursday, 17. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7. Wind N. E. and a severe snow storm, tho' not very cold. snowed all day and blowed considerable hard. Spent the evening with Sara. read to her one of Fordyce's Sermons to young

women, on modest apparel. Home at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 & to bed at 12.

Friday, 18. Rose at $\frac{1}{4}$ before 7. Wind N. E. and very moderate—overcast most all day. After breakfast shoveled snow about an hour. Shoveled chief of the forenoon before the Office. Afternoon, walked to Marblehead and back again—gone $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours—very slopy disagreeable travelling and miserable sleighing indeed. Spent the evening at home writing. Quite melancholy and cross all day—attributed it to the weather—at noon, wind N. N. W. Mrs Gardner came to see me a few moments in the evening. Before I retired to rest, my mind quite calm. To bed at 10.

Saturday, Feby 19. Rose at 7—Wind N. E. overcast and pleasant alternately. Noon, wind S. W. to S. Afternoon, spent partly at home and partly at Mrs Gardner's. Eveng spent at home, reading detached pieces in the Am. Museum. To bed at 10 O'clock.

Sunday, 20. Rose at 7. Wind N. E. pleasant morning—soon overcast & light snow all day—very moderate—Spent the eveng at Mrs Gardner's. To bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11.

Monday, 21. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6. Wind S. W. and pleasant—Mrs Gardner went to Marblehead. Mornng Noon & eveng spent with Sara—home at 10 O'clock. to bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10.

Tuesday, 22. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6. Wind S. W. Warm & pleasant—Snow thawed very much—Mornng Noon & eveng spent with Sara—*Sally*, Ashton, from Calcutta; *Hope*, Lander, from Martinico; *Betsey*, Tucker, from Surinam; and *Hazard*, Reeves, (late Eden) master from Dominico, arrived. Capt. Geo. Eden, died at Dominico on the 24th Jany. He was a worthy young man, just coming forward in the world, this being the first time of his going master; has left a young wife and two children. Died in this town; after a sickness of a few days, Mr Wm Proctor, merchant. Home and to bed at 11 O'clock.

Wednesday, 23. Rose at 7 Wind S. W. overcast and much like foul weather. Before noon very pleasant and warm. Afternoon overcast. Ther. 53 out doors in the shade. Evening at Mr Osborn's store, to see my parents, to see Sara, she being quite unwell and at home part of the

evening. Mr. Denis and wife at our house. Very dark, rained quite fast before 10 o'clock and before morning snowed considerably, to bed at half past 10.

Thursday, 24. Rose at 7. Wind N. E. and snowed fast all day, but the earth being very open, warm and wet, the snow melted near as fast as it fell, after dark, the weather became a little cooler and the snow covered the ground and gave it an appearance something like good sleighing, if the weather should hold cool. Eveng spent at home with a fire in my chamber, reading till 8 O'clock. when not feeling very smart I cracked some nuts and at $\frac{1}{4}$ before 9 went to see Sara; found her to bed, spent $\frac{1}{4}$ of an hour with her, she informed me she felt cleverly; spent $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour with Mrs Gardner and home at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 & to bed at 10. Continued snowing.

Friday, 25. Rose at 7. Wind N. E. and snow. Overcast, unsettled weather thro' out the day—spent the eveng at Mrs Gardner's. Sara quite unwell. Home & to bed at 11 O'clock.

Saturday, 26. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6. Wind N. W. warm and pleasant. Morning stopt to see Sara, found her very unwell. After dinner went to doctor Lang's to get medicine &c. Spent the afternoon at home reading Brydone's tour in Sicily & Malta—before coffee, spent $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour with Sara. Eveng made a fire in my chamber. Soon after I got ready to seat myself down, Edward & Sally made their appearance from Boston. In company with Edward I spent part of the evening with Sara. Left Sara at 9 O'clock. and went to my Mother's to see Sally; here I remained to 10 O'clock. and then came home & went to bed at 11.

Sunday, 27. Rose at 6. Wind S. W. Warm and pleasant. To meeting all day. Edward to meeting with me in the forenoon. Afternoon, he and Mr Thayer went up to Danvers. Eveng Sally & I went to Mrs Gardner's. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 o'clock. I went down to Doctor Williams to get some Elexer Salutis for Mrs thayer and when I returned Edward went to Mrs G's with me. Home at 10 O'clock. & to bed at 11. Sara cleverly.

(To be continued)



Kindness of Frank A. Manny

ENTRANCE TO BOXFORD VILLAGE, ENGLAND

NAMESAKE TOWNS OF OUR ESSEX COUNTY

BY ALLAN FORBES

This is the final installment of the series of articles on Namesake Towns of Essex County and it is my hope that it will prove at least as interesting as its precursors to the members of the Essex Institute. Much of this material has not been presented before and it is believed that something worth while has been accomplished by having it together in the Historical Collections of the Institute where it will be available for consultation in the years to come. It is the hope of the author that readers have found the series — from Amesbury to Wenham — worth reading and that it has provided them with information which will add to their interest in these historic old communities of the North Shore.

I would like to express my deep appreciation of the assistance given on this part of the work by George W. Adams, Edward W. Eames, Russell Leigh Jackson, Helena Mills John, Henry B. Little, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Livermore, Frank A. Manny, Mrs. A. W. Moody, Miss Catherine C. P. Pentecost, James Duncan Phillips, Lispenard B. Phister and Miss Todd.

Again I want to thank Ralph M. Eastman for reviewing and editing the manuscript and Miss Katherine G. Rogers for typing and handling the material. Also, as usual, the staff of the Boston Public Library has been very helpful and cooperative.

BOXFORD

During this war a New Englander is supposed to have met a Britisher on a London street and stopped him, saying "We are cousins, I believe." "Why, I have never seen you before, what do you mean?" replied the Londoner. "Oh, yes," said the American, "aren't we both descended from Ethelred the Unready?" Although both countries were certainly unprepared, nevertheless they both seem to be closer and more cooperative than ever before.

A visitor overseas, Frank A. Manny, of the Massachusetts Boxford told of his visit to some of the Namesake towns in England before the Peabody Historical Society, and a number of paragraphs are introduced here which give us a good description of Boxford, situated on the River Box.

A glance at the map of Essex and Suffolk counties in East Anglia show Boxford, Toppesfield, Ipswich, Haverhill, Wenham and Chelmsford among the towns which meant enough to our ancestors to have them plant these names in their new homes

The reward comes as soon as the old towns are reached and it is made possible to enter into the nearest present-day approach to conditions of living which prevailed when the emigrants of the 1600's were still resident in the old home.

.....

Even for Norman days it is the old church of Hemel Hemstead not far away in which Zaccheus Gould of Topsfield was baptized that is selected as a most satisfactory example for study in a recent English work on the early times.

Ipswich is apt to bring up associations with Dickens, and the visitor goes first to the old White Hart Inn to follow the adventures of Mr. Pickwick and his group.

Our chief interest lay in the villages of Toppesfield and Boxford. The latter town in America has been somewhat overshadowed by its neighbor Topsfield so that one feels the justice of a reversal of roles over there. In Toppesfield one must make a considerable journey to find a telephone

In Toppesfield the old inn still has curious passage ways leading to now unused functions of a great vat for cooling liquors, the bakery, the still, etc. Nearby is the church whose gravedigger showed me exactly at which grave his labors began forty-three years before my visit. He also described to me with great exactness, although with some circumlocution, the last American visitor of many years before, who proved to be George Francis Dow of Topsfield. Of especial interest is the old farm "Olivers," from which came the Symonds family of so much significance in early Essex County days.

At Toppesfield, Mr. Manny visited the old church, but failed to find the record, but he added:

At Boxford we were more fortunate for Rector Andrews was most hospitable. We found also a family which had lived

in America whose members were ready to do everything possible for us. It was in their garden that we saw our first magpie.

We stayed at the tavern called the Fleece and had less primitive meals than were afforded us at Toppesfield, yet they were of the old style so hard to find today in other sections of England.

A recent issue of the East Anglian Daily Times, published at Ipswich, describes Boxford as "That straggling collection of curious dwelling places between Sudbury and Hadleigh."¹ Cross the street from the inn and you are in Groton which contains the church in which the Winthrop family memorial is placed.

Boxford was once a town of considerable wealth. This was at the time when Flemings brought the wool industry over to England. The church of St. Mary bears testimony to these days of prosperity, There are brasses on the walls and in the floor which were there when our emigrant ancestors attended this church. Somewhat later is the inscription of 1748 in memory of Elizabeth Hyam of this parish for the fourth time a widow, who by a fall brought on a mortification which hastened her to her end when she had reached only her 113th year!

Boxford Manor belonged at one time to the abbot of Bury St. Edmunds and in the 18th century became the property of the king. The earliest record of it is its passing from William the Conqueror to Robert deMalet. Queen Elizabeth endowed the grammar school of the parish.

There is another Boxford up in Derbyshire, but there seems to be no doubt that it is this Suffolk County parish which is the progenitor of our Massachusetts town.

One cannot stay in this old village with its stream winding through its midst or spend the evening on the bowling green a little ways up a back street watching the villages in match games, without letting his mind go back to the men and women who lived in 1600 under much the same conditions as are found there today. Perhaps most of all comes the feeling of the change from the mild climate and fertile soil of that country to the harder conditions that New England offered when these travelers came bringing their lilacs to make the new living places more homelike.

1 Monks' "Counties" places Boxford on a branch of the River Stour, sixteen miles west of Ipswich, and ten miles north of Colchester in Essex.

Manny's story concludes with a paragraph relating to the Peabody family for whom a town in our Essex County is named:

There is another Essex County town which bears a name coming from this countryside although it is not to be found upon the map. New England sent back a Downing from Essex County to name the great street of London, and it also furnished the old home a representative of our old family. I was forcibly reminded of this when at Westminster Abbey we visited the grave of "The Unknown Soldier". The inscription states "he was buried with kings" — almost the nearest neighbor bears the tablet to George Peabody, who did so much to bind the two nations together.

Mr. Manny writes me that this Peabody or Paybody family probably came from over the line in Bedfordshire as the town of Great St. Albans to which they were credited in the ship's list was probably merely the place from which they secured certificates for sailing. He also states that while the suggestion of the name Boxford for what had been Rowley Village in our Essex County may have come from Pastor Samuel Phillips of Rowley who has commonly been said to have been born at Boxford in Suffolk, a careful examination of the records reveals that his father Pastor George Phillips of Watertown lived at Boxted in Essex when this son was born. The claims of Perley and others that Robert Andrews and Robert Eames of Boxford in New England came from Boxford in Suffolk cannot be justified. The only direct association among the residents at the time the name was chosen is the established fact that the Bixby family came from Little Waldingfield in Suffolk and for that little community Boxford was the neighboring big town. Boxford in Berkshire is not a part of this chapter as at the time the new name was chosen for our Rowley Village the English Boxford was then called Boxore.

The History of Boxford by Sidney Perley states that in May, 1685, at a meeting the villagers voted to petition the General Court for a town charter and that, "Abraham Redington, sen., should be the bearer of it." Redington is supposed to have been the first settler here and was much esteemed. The petitioners signed the document "with the consent of the reast of the vileg."



Kindness of Russell Leigh Jackson

THIS PICTURE IS A REPRODUCTION OF ONE OF THE TWO PRINTS IN THIS COUNTRY; ONE IS OWNED BY THE TOWN OF NEWBURY AND THE OTHER IS IN THE POSSESSION OF RUSSELL LEIGH JACKSON, TO WHOM IT WAS PRESENTED UPON HIS VISIT TO NEWBURY, ENGLAND, IN 1930, ON THE OCCASION OF THE TERCENTENARY OF OUR NEWBURY.

NEWBURY

The tale of the "Newbury Coat" is now well known to both of the Newburys, particularly since the Massachusetts town was the recipient of one of the three rare prints depicting this incident. In the year 1811 Sir John Throckmorton wagered a thousand guineas that John Coxeter, of Greenham Mills, a skilled weaver, could within the rising and the setting of the sun, produce a finished woolen coat from the raw material on the sheep's back. Two such animals were accordingly produced and brought into the market place, where all could witness the unusual performance, which was finished, it is related, one hour ahead of the scheduled time. It has also been reported that the winner of the bet wore the coat at dinner that same evening.

Six engravings were made of this event; three have been lost, but one belongs to one of the families of Newbury, England, one is owned by the town of Newbury, while the third was presented to Russell Leigh Jackson, who was delegated to be the "Ambassador of Good Will" to visit the mother town on the occasion of the Tercentenary of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1930. As Mr. Jackson expresses it, the tables were turned and the process reversed, for instead of the English Mayor coming here at the time of our Massachusetts Bay Tercentenary he himself was chosen to convey an official message from our Newbury and also to carry a letter, signed by Anne Colman Moody, from the "Sons and Daughters of the First Settlers of Newbury", thanking the English town for pictures of the English place. With this rare print was a presentation to the visitor of an old pewter plate which originally formed a part of the dinner service of the Corporation, used at public entertainments given by the Mayor.

These gifts now hang on the east wall of the First Church in our Newbury, known as the Oldtown Church, the plate in a mahogany case which was presented by Mr. Jackson in memory of his great grandmother, Mrs. Hall Jackson Leigh (Abigail Little). Underneath is this inscription:

Picture and plate presented to this town at Newbury in Berkshire, September 23, 1930, as a gesture of friendship from mother to daughter, brought back to America by Russell Leigh Jackson, who presented the official greetings of this town.

A reproduction of the print forms part of this chapter.

As this visit abroad was an unusual one, I am sure Mr. Jackson would forgive me if I quoted parts of his scrap book which I have been privileged to read:

My visit began very modestly but grew in undue proportion, I have always felt, until it became a very important event in the Berkshire town. "The biggest event since the armistice," the Newbury Weekly News said after it was over I trod the same streets which some of our forefathers walked over previous to their voyage to this country nearly three hundred years ago.

His speech included these remarks:

I would, indeed, be remiss were I to fail to extend my own personal felicitations along with those of my home town in America and to tell you in a few words how significant this visit is to me and with what pride and pleasure my townspeople join in this expression of goodwill Ten generations of Newbury men and women have remembered you here in Berkshire. Ten generations of Englishmen transplanted to the virgin soil of a new world have looked longingly back upon the Mother Country We like to feel that you are still our mother Let us as Anglo-Saxons, though the world may call us English or American, carry on with that British determination so characteristic of us both, forgetting our petty differences.

Our representative at this same time took over an official message printed on kidskin furnished by Joseph N. Nutter, a prominent shoe manufacturer of our town. A splendid reception was in store for our visitor, including an official luncheon at which "the real English spirit was evidenced", according to the scrap book, "and everything was discussed during the evening, including prohibition". The guest also was pleased to notice a picture of Governor Dummer Academy. The luncheon in his honor was at the Jack of Newbury Hotel, and on his right sat the Countess of Carnarvon, a niece of Professor Barrett Wendell of Boston. Among the toast proposed was one by Rev. E. H.

Titchmarsh who visited our Newbury in 1899, preaching in the Oldtown Church.

The Jack of Newbury Hotel was owned by John Winchcombe, an eccentric character of whom much has been told and written. In fact, the Newbury Historical Society possesses a rare book published in 1635 and donated with other gifts by Mayor C. W. Burns. The important parts Mrs. Moody has kindly copied for my benefit. Considerable space is devoted to him in this chapter for the reason that the book was sent here as a present from old Newbury and also because clothiers established themselves in Massachusetts at an early date. It bears the title "The Pleasant History of John Winchcombe, in his younger years called Jack of Newberrie, the famous and worthy clothier of England; declaring his life and love, together with his charitable deeds and great hospitality — worthy to be read and regarded." — By Thomas Deloney. In this work are volumes of poetry, old fashioned words and phrases which some enterprising persons might care to read with a good deal of enjoyment. It is dedicated "To all famous cloath-workers in England", to whom he wishes "all happiness of life, prosperity and brotherly affection."

John was beloved especially because he was "never a churl with his purse", and "no sooner got a crown than he found means to spend it." He could not be enticed from his looms, which caused his friends to remark that doubtless "Some female spirit hath enchanted him". It wasn't long before the ancient widow of his master decided to marry him, which caused quite a commotion among the weavers. After being locked out one cold night, Jack determined "to wash his hands of her." They made up, but before long she died, leaving him very rich. He was able, therefore, to bring to Queen Catherine two hundred and fifty men against the King of the Scots at Flodden Field. His reward was a kiss from the Queen herself. He is supposed to have been one of the heroes during that battle, resulting this piece of poetry, which is reprinted:

The Cheshire lads were brisk and brave,
And the Kendall Laddies as free,
But none surpassed or I'm a knave
The Laddies of Newberrie.

The King wanted to make him a baronet, but he protested, declaring, "I would rather be plain Jack of Newbury", and so he has been known to this day.

He soon married one of his workers and lived amid luxury employing —

. a butcher all the yeare
A Brewer else for ale and beere,
A baker for to bake the bread
Which stood his household in good stead.

King Henry and Queen Catherine visited Jack at his home, and at that time he presented his royal guests with an emblem which they ordered sent to Windsor Castle. A banquet followed, the decorations being of broadcloth and wool of the rarest kind. After the repast Jack of Newbury took the King and Queen into his workroom, where a hundred looms and double that number of men were weaving, singing at the same time The Weavers' Song, which began with these lines —

When Hercules did used to spin
And Callas wrought upon the loom
Our trade to flourish did begin.

Then followed verses about David and Goliath, and Helen of Troy, and other historical personages.

To go back to Mr. Jackson's visit, the newspaper in Newbury, England, summed up the events by saying that it "opens a chapter in the history of the two towns and will doubtless have an important bearing upon the relationship between the great nations of which they form a part". His trip ended with a drive to Donnington Castle once visited by Queen Elizabeth and later besieged by King Charles I at the battle of Newbury. Here resided the poet, Geoffrey Chaucer, whose sister is the ancestress of many Americans, some of whom are living in Newburyport. Chaucer while living there began his Canterbury Tales.

Another visitor to the English town was Henry B. Little, President of the Institution for Savings in Newburyport, who wrote me of his one day experience there in 1911:

It so happened that I was in London late in November years ago and as I always spent my Thanksgiving in New-

bury I said to my wife and niece who were with me that we would spend our Thanksgiving in Newbury even if we were abroad On the train there was quite a crowd going to the races which took place in Newbury on that day, and in the town we visited the church of St. Michael's which is rather interesting and there we came in contact with something unique. This was a relay prayer meeting which I believe was to continue for twenty-four hours

adding that "A small church recently built here at West Newbury is on the plan of St. Michael's, just one-third the size."

A previous traveler to the Newbury abroad was Rev. Glenn Tilley Morse, Rector of All Saints Church in West Newbury; it was he who in 1913 conceived the idea of producing a replica here of the English Church, just mentioned.

In 1935, the Tercentenary of the founding of our town was observed, for in the spring of 1635 Rev. Thomas Parker of the English Newbury landed near Oldtown Hill and held the first service in a spot still held sacred. Mayor Burns of the English town wrote that he was unable to attend this celebration. A gift of the flag of our Newbury was sent across the water, having been made by Miss Elizabeth Hoxie, one of the Directors of the "Sons and Daughters of the First Settlers". The note accompanying it expressed "our gratitude that from the mother country came to these shores such very splendid men and women. We are grateful for all they endured in the way of sorrow and privation that we might now live in such a fair homeland, and trust that in a small measure we have inherited some of their worth in character and purpose."

This flag is doubtless still exhibited in their Town Hall. It is particularly interesting to know that Governor Endecott was admonished for cutting the cross out of the King's colors. Nathaniel Saltonstall of Haverhill some years later ordered a flag for Captain Thomas Noyes' company of foot soldiers, requesting the background be green, with a "red cross, with a white field in ye angle according to the antient custom of our own English nation and the English plantations in America". And so it happened that the cross cut out by Endecott was inserted in the year

1684. This flag fell into disuse, but when England and America became allies in 1917 it was again made use of and now hangs in the Town Hall. Probably no other New England town, distinct from a city, has its own flag.

One of the important emigrants to come to Newbury was Richard Dummer, who joined the Newbury party in 1635, and was especially interested in importing cattle from the old country. A descendant was responsible for founding Governor Dummer Academy, the first boarding school for boys in America, which has had continued success up to the present time. Joseph N. Dummer in a paper on "Newbury and its Influence" relates an anecdote about a resident who kept three slaves in the early days of the colony. Upon being criticized he gave them their freedom. Two departed to enjoy their liberty but the third, a woman named Violet, said "No Massa, you have had the best of me, now you must have the worst", whereupon she continued to reside in the household.

From the auditorium of this Academy was held an interesting broadcast over WLAW and WRUL. Among other remarks, Martin Burns, Chairman of the Board of Selectmen, explained the origin of the academy:

. it may interest you to know that its founder, William Dummer, was appointed by George III to serve as lieutenant governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and that upon his death he left his estate in Newbury to be used for the founding of the school which today bears his name. We have thought that the best way we might entertain you would be to have the glee club of this old school sing for you. Since there is a joint concert here tonight with the girls glee club of Bradford Junior College, the girls club will share the program with the boys. Incidentally, Bradford is about as far from our Newbury as is the village of Bradfield from yours.

A student, Ben Pearson, followed on the air:

. In the town of Newbury, Massachusetts, I am the ninth of my family of that name. As time goes with you, 1640 may not seem so long ago, but it was then that the first Pearson came to Newbury. He built the first fulling mill in America, and it is said that he brought his timbers with him. That seems a little odd to us today, for about all one could expect to find in our Newbury in 1640 was timber.

I have been asked to try to tell you why so many of our families have been here for so many generations. True it is that we haven't any skyscrapers in our town, we haven't found gold here, and we haven't a single oil well in the community. But what we do have we have grown attached to, and it isn't just lack of enterprise that has made so many of our families stay here for generation after generation. It's a very real affection for our town, for its tradition and its charm.

Agnes Little, a teacher in the Newburyport High School told about the first minister:

. We cannot find why our town was called Newbury. Possibly it was because the first minister, Thomas Parker born in Wiltshire, was a teacher for several years in your public school. Since he is one of the common bonds which we do have, perhaps you would like the story often told about him over here. When questioned by his fellow ministers in the great religious controversy of early days, he answered their questions in Latin; when the questioners took up Latin, he replied in Greek; when they followed with Greek, he answered with Arabic; and when they could no longer follow, he said that he would be judged by no council except by one of his peers.

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The first town of the first county, of the first state of the Union, Newbury has many a first to its credit. Just across the town line, Newbury men built the first fulling mill, thereby beginning the textile industry in America. Newbury had the first woolen mill and first nail factory. The first and only two-headed snake in America was found here, Newbury had the first town flag in America, and is indeed the only town now to have such a distinction.

Before closing, I want to tell you how glad we were to hear recently that the mobile kitchen we sent you has been doing such good service. We were glad to have a chance of sending you something more substantial than words.

The last speaker on the program was Nathaniel Dummer, a descendant of William Dummer's brother, Richard:

. As Mr. Burns told you earlier in our program, it was William Dummer who founded Governor Dummer Academy, from which this broadcast comes to you, and in which I, as many of my ancestors have been, am now a stu-

dent. My connection with your town is slight, but some fifteen miles southeast of you is the parish of Dummer, where the church still stands in which the family of Ralph de Dummer, one of my forebears, worshiped in 1107.

Another important name in our Newbury was Poore, Ben Perley Poore having been one of the descendants of John who came up the Parker River in 1635. His ancestor was Philip le Poer, who lived in Amesbury, England, thirty generations back. He owned the well-known Indian Hill where he erected a dwelling which, with its many antiquities, has become famous, and is now a museum controlled by the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities. Many characteristics of this beautiful old building are copied from England; in fact, the surroundings resemble an English scene. Major Poore was an important personage of his time and his scrap book tells of many meetings held at Indian Hill and of the many distinguished people who crossed his threshold. Some of the clippings shown me by his grandson, B. P. P. Moseley, tell of an election bet which was lost by the Major. He was far from a young man, but to carry out his wager was obliged to trundle a barrel of apples in a wheelbarrow from West Newbury to Boston. One of the newspaper headings reads: "Perley Poor — Poore Perley". He remarked that his ancestor had marched to Bunker Hill in one day and he guessed he could walk to Boston in three days. Crowds joined him as he neared the city and the band that met him must have made his feat the easier. Much difficulty was encountered when he had to travel over cobble stones. He was hailed as the "Hero of the wheelbarrow exploit", and for some time people danced to the tune of "The Wheelbarrow Polka". This farm implement is still in existence.

One of the Poore family left in his note book this rhyme:

When I am dead and gone
And the mould upon my breast,
Say not that he did ill or well,
Only he did his best.

Newbury in Berkshire County is situated on the River Kennet, a branch of the Thames. On the northern bank a

settlement was made by the Romans and at the time of the Norman Conquest, a new settlement was started on the south side, known as New Bourg, or New Town, then Newburg, and finally the present name. There is a parish called Speenhamland and the Pelican Inn was noted for its excellent dinners and high prices. One of the stage coach travelers wrote these lines describing the place:

The famous inn at Speenhamland
That stands below the hill,
May well be called the Pelican
From its enormous bill.

That part of Newbury situated on the Merrimac in 1764 became Newburyport and, according to "Lord" Timothy Dexter, the eccentric resident of that place, "if they had kept together they would have been the second town in this state about half of Boston."

Whittier wrote some lines concerning the territory around Newbury, and although they have been printed from time to time, nevertheless they are so descriptive of that part of Essex County that I cannot refrain from quoting them again:

As long as Plum Island, to guard the coast
As God appointed, shall keep its post;
As long as the salmon shall haunt the deep
Of Merrimac River, or sturgeon leap;
As long as pickerel, swift and slim
Or red-backed perch, in Crane Pond swim;
As long as the annual sea-fowl know
Their time to come and their time to go;
As long as cattle shall roam at will
The green, grass meadows of Turkey Hill;
As long as sheep shall look from the side
Of Oldtown Hill on marshes wide,
And Parker River and salt-sea tide;
As long as a wandering pigeon shall search
The fields below from his white-oak perch,
When the barley harvest is ripe and shorn,
And the dry husks fall from the standing corn;
As long as Nature shall not grow old,
Nor drop her work from her doting hold,
And her care for the Indian corn forget,
And the yellow rows in pairs to set;—

So long shall Christians here be born,
Grow up and ripen as God's sweet corn!

Another good description of Essex County appeared in "Old Modes of Travel" by the late Robert S. Rantoul:

Or we seem again to be bowling down that grand old turn-pike from Newburyport, with Ackerman or Barrabee or Forbes, rumbling by old Governor Dummer's Academy at Byfield, telling off the milestones through the Topsfield of fifty years ago, over the grassy hills and by the beautiful lake at Lynnfield.

TOPSFIELD

To Samuel Symonds is attributed the credit of changing the name New Meadows to Topsfield in our County of Essex, for his original home was in the county of the same name in the town of Toppesfield, which has never changed its spelling as we have done here. Four of the thirteen men who went to Agawam (now Ipswich) were later granted land in the present Topsfield. The earliest printed mention of the Massachusetts town is to be seen in "Good News from New England", printed in London in 1648, in which it is stated that a certain William Knight had gone home to England. George Francis Dow, who has written much about our Essex County, made the statement that many of the men to come to Massachusetts had never owned any lands at all in England. He also wrote in his history of Topsfield that "here, in the home of one of their honoured ministers we see not only the most attractive side of their life but also its essentially English origin. For if Parson Capen's house could be transported overseas and planted somewhere in the little Essex hamlet of Toppesfield, it would harmonize perfectly with the pleasant rolling country, the thatched cottages and the sturdy oak trees of that district of England."

The town was named on October 18, 1648, the wording being, "The magistrates (upon consideration with these that are principle interested) doe thinke it fitt it should be called Toppesfield." How long it was before the change of spelling occurred is not definitely known.

Two hundred and fifty years after the incorporation the two Essex towns exchanged cables and in September of



From "Sketch of Topsfield Parish, Essex
County, England," by George F. Dow

ST. MARGARET'S CHURCH, ESSEX COUNTY, TOPPESFIELD, ENGLAND

1941, made use of the more modern method of greeting — the broadcast. James Duncan Phillips, publisher, author of colonial history, and an all the year round resident of our Topsfield led off on the air. Referring to the English town he said "It is a long time since I visited Toppesfield, just after the first German war, but I remember it very clearly as a little village with some thatched cottages, a big wide street with a four gabled canopy over the well, and a big church with a brick tower just around the corner . . ." Of Topsfield, Massachusetts, he said: "What gives the town green its real beauty, is the well-tended trees, the closely clipped grass, and the green hills around it. There is an air of well kept neatness which it is difficult to describe. We are proud of our Green One of our founders was Samuel Symonds, who came over from your town of Toppesfield three hundred years ago, and we probably got our name through a suggestion from him. Others of our first settlers were Goulds, Perkinses, Redingtons, Dorman and Wildes. You may recognize some of these names. Anyway, your church tower seems to have been a memorial to a Robert Wilde. Our town is in Essex County, just as yours is, and we have towns all around us named after places only a few miles from you like Ipswich, Boxford, Haverhill, Sudbury, Lynn and Beverly. Most of our people came from East Anglia, you know, and brought these names with them. Some of us at least have seen your town, and we hope some of you may see our town. New England is more like Old England than any other part of North America, and you will feel more at home here."

In the old Parson Capen House on the Village Common, occupied by the Elmer Foyes, Ian Rose was a guest from his English home, and he followed with an account of his life in New England. It also happened that John Inskipp, whose father was in the Ministry of Food in London, was also spending the summer here with the Ragle family, and he carried on a rather lengthy conversation with his friends abroad. "As a matter of fact," he said, "it is rather like England. Perhaps that is why it is called New England. Topsfield is a lovely village with its town hall and churches on the green, and every week

or so during the summer they have had square dances on the green for the benefit of British Relief." Mr. Wellmen explained the gift of clothing made through the English-Speaking Union to Toppesfield, and Osgood Richards, a member of the Board of Selectmen, wound up the broadcast.

A good many stories have been told about the copper mines of Topsfield. As a matter of fact, copper had been discovered in the town limits as early as 1641 by one of Governor Endecott's scouts, and he was granted a copper mine there. Governor John Winthrop wrote to his son about this on September 30, 1648 as follows: "Mr. Endecott hath found a copper mine in his own ground. Mr. Leader hath tried it." This attempt to mine copper has been considered the earliest record of the mining of this metal in the English colonies of North America. This original "mine" — really a pit — is located on the property of Thomas Sanders. The one to which we wish to call attention here is located in the back field of the estate of James Duncan Phillips and was worked by an Englishman by the name of Buntin or Bunting, about the year 1770. Tradition has it that he disappeared suddenly and was supposed to have been swallowed up. It is said that some of the superstitious residents were afraid to go through this tract of land — known as the "mine lot" — by night for fear of meeting a grim-looking figure that was reported to be on guard there. A descendant of this Bunting in England inherited some of his property and some papers relating to this mine were found and search was made in Topsfield for these pits, two of which were discovered. A company was then formed, so the story goes, but only enough copper was found to form the head of a cane, which was presented to one of the directors.

The Parish of Toppesfield, England, probably derived its name from a Saxon named Topa, or Toppa, who owned lands there. At different periods the town has been known as Toppesfend, Toppesford and Thopefield. Some years ago a visitor from Essex County, whose name I believe was Rev. Lyndon S. Crawford visited the mother town and wrote of the conversation with the driver of his cab. Upon being asked the origin of the name of the

place, he answered: "Well, that's a question I could hardly answer, Sir, they must-a-caught it as it came along. Come by a whirlwind perhaps." In any event both towns seem to have been well named for the English town is reported to be the topmost village in the shire, and although St. Margaret's Church is not situated on the highest ground, its tower is tall enough to serve as a landmark for miles around, and in our town there are also numerous high hills with splendid views. There also Samuel Symonds worshipped, and there his ten children were baptized; and in the register appear these names, all well known in our Topsfield and vicinity: Allen, Barker, Barnes, Clarke, Davison, Hale, Hardy, Palmer, Reed, Rice, Smith, Wildes and Wilson.

There is also a small township called Topsfield, in the State of Maine, named for the Massachusetts place.

THE MEAL CHEST STORY

BY WILLIAM STICKNEY EWELL

When books were scarce, stories told in the home preserved the knowledge of local events, especially of family incidents; and, if interest in them spread, they became part of the folklore of the community. The Meal Chest Story originated about 1780, in the home of Esquire Moody Spofford on Spofford Hill, in Georgetown, Massachusetts. At that time in most homes books were few, and such as there were of a serious and religious nature. Listening to stories took the place of light reading. Naturally it was the day of the good story-teller, and as naturally the teller would incline to exaggeration and embellishment, and there would be variations in the same story as told by different people. There are variations in the Meal Chest Story as I heard it as a boy, and in the manuscript records of it which I have found among my mother's papers.

There is a factor which should not be lightly passed over in considering this Spofford family legend. The witchcraft delusion was a form of mass insanity, which so affected whole communities that almost everyone believed strange things, accepting as facts happenings so obviously impossible that today their faith in them seems ridiculous, but at the time it was dangerous to appear even slightly incredulous. Prosecution for witchcraft had been stopped long before the birth of our story, but the malady persisted for many years after that. There was Peter Rugg who, with his little daughter, one stormy autumn night, in 1770, lost his way while driving from Concord to his home in Boston. They were never found, but from time to time, for at least fifty years afterward, around Boston, and in Providence and Newburyport, and as far away as in Hartford in Connecticut, many people heard the clatter of his horse's hoofs, and saw the horse and buggy go by "with a sound like an earthquake," and distinctly within the carriage were the figures of father and child. Versions of those who were witnesses of the lost travelers were definite, and made with certainty as to the facts.

Goody Whitcher, of Amesbury, died some time after the

period of witchcraft prosecution, but many people testified that they had heard her loom keep banging day and night after she was dead.

Innumerable other instances could be cited of positive belief, a few generations ago in this and neighboring communities, in accounts of local, extraordinary manifestations of supernatural power. The Meal Chest Story would seem to belong in this class. It came toward the end of the wide fringe of mental recovery from the witchcraft delusion, but Spoffords, of what was the "older generation" when I was a boy, would have resented an implication that their faith in it was a symptom of a passing malady. It seems as though they might have felt embarrassed that the supernatural should intervene in their family affairs in a meaningless and silly way, but that was characteristic of all such phenomena of the time. It is worthy of comment that the Spoffords who believed in the story were people of good sense and culture; and that the men who were figures in it were of the same sort, men of character, intelligent men, whose word should carry weight in any day.

My mother was a great-granddaughter of Esquire Moody Spofford, and was reared in reverence for his memory as a man of piety, and of uncommon strength of character. The Meal Chest Story had made a deep impression on her from the days of her girlhood, but a long time had gone by since occurred the episode on which it was based, and there were somewhat different versions of it in the numerous Spofford families of her day. In 1897, by interviews and by correspondence, she collected a number of these variant versions; the substance of all being much alike. One of the manuscripts devotes more than a third of its space to seemingly irrelevant allusions; to Ben Perley Poor's wheeling his barrel of apples over the new Newburyport Turnpike to Boston; to two strangers, who, during the Revolutionary War, came through the neighborhood, and were believed to have buried some of Captain Kidd's treasure on the shore of a pond nearby the house of the Meal Chest Story; of how the farmers hunted for it, and lost their hay-poles probing in the under-water search, because the pond had no bottom. I do not know who composed this account, but suspect it was a person who thought anything would be be-

lieved in a region where people did queer things, and where many strange legends abounded.

The version of the story as I will give it here is from a manuscript, copied in my mother's handwriting, with the heading: "The Meal Chest Case — Dr. J. Spofford, 1875." At the top of the paper is the notation: "Dr. J. Spofford, born Dec. 8, 1787; died Sept. 16, 1880. Contemporary with Moody S——— 39 years." This "Dr. J. Spofford" was Dr. Jeremiah Spofford, of Groveland, the author of the Spofford genealogy, and of other books; a scholar, and a physician who was held in esteem by the Massachusetts medical profession. "Moody S———" was Deacon Moody Spofford, of Spofford Hill, Georgetown, Massachusetts. He was commonly known as "Esquire Moody Spofford." He was born June 24, 1744, and died Dec. 23, 1828. He was a lieutenant in the Revolutionary War, and "the architect and master builder of the first Haverhill bridge in 1794, also of the Rocks and Andover bridges across the Merrimack, also one across the Connecticut, at Windsor, Vt., and across the Piscataqua between Portsmouth and Dover." He was the architect and builder of a number of churches.

Here is Dr. Spofford's version, but the style seems to change toward the latter part, as though that were by a different author. As stated above, this was written in 1875.

"The house in which these manifestations took place was burnt soon after, (interpolated: Sept. 1794), but stood three or four rods northwest of the house in which he (Moody Spofford) afterwards lived, and is still standing.

"It would be as strange and incredible a story, that twenty or thirty people of a respectable neighborhood should believe and testify that they saw a farmer's meal chest, loaded with its usual contents, move about a chamber without hands, when it did no such thing, as it would be for the chest to be actually moved by some agency unknown to us.

"On a day about 1780 — exact date not known — my father, living at the next house, was passing the home of Mr. Moody Spofford, and was called in to hear the strange statement that the girl weaving in the chamber was annoyed by strange sounds apparently in the walls of the

room, answering each stroke of the lathe with which she beat each thread of the filling into the cloth!" (Note: Webster defines "lathe" as "The movable frame of a loom, carrying the reed for separating the warp threads and beating up the weft.") "He examined to find if any jar of the loom produced the sound, but could find no loose board or clapboard producing it. He pounded on the house himself, and found every blow made by way of experiment answered by a similar blow. Unable to account for these things, he left and went home, but was soon recalled.

"The weaver was named Hannah Hazen, a native of the place, of respectable family and good character, and nothing is known of her having any voluntary agency in relation to the doings of this afternoon but a saying of the children's, that Hannah had been trying her fortune by some of the experiments popular at that day. The girl was known to the writer years afterwards, when she was the wife of Thomas Dresser, a blacksmith of Boxford, where they lived several years about 1776 or 7.

"Disturbed in the weaving, Hannah was set to sifting meal, but she or her clothes had no sooner touched the meal chest than it began to move away from her by jogs of one or two inches, and so continued as long as she kept at work. A family of children, up to ten or a dozen years of age, soon spread the story over the neighborhood, and many gathered to see the wonders. My father with my mother, a sister of Esquire Moody, soon returned to find many there, and experiments going on; a table standing in the open floor, when touched by the girl or her clothes, would move by jogs from her, and chairs and other articles the same way. The door latch flew up and down with great rapidity, when her clothes touched the door, and even the farmer's heavy work-bench, at the shop, upon trial also receded by a similar jogging motion. Spectators by this time were plenty, and the meal chest experiment was renewed, and the chest moved as before, and continued to do so while the girl sifted meal, though the weight of three men was added," (Note: one account gives their combined weight as nine hundred pounds.) "and this motion was continued till it reached the corner of the room. The men

concerned in this experiment, (sitting on the chest), often named in stating these facts by those present, were: Dr. Amos Spofford, David Thurston, Esq., afterwards removed to Maine, Captain William Perley, late of Haverhill, all of them residents here, and large and heavy men, well known to the writer.

"Hannah was a passive instrument in the hands of others in all these experiments, and probably knew no more of the cause of these wonders than they did. Iron or steel played its usual part; a fork stuck in a table or meal chest arrested its motion, a horse-shoe hung over the door and the latch was still. Why the latch, if of iron, did not do the same we do not know — perhaps it was of wood.

"On the Esquire's return at evening, he put a stop to all experiments, and would not even hear their stories, and everything was quiet over the Sabbath, but on his departure Monday morning, the same game was recommenced at the house, upon which he was immediately recalled. Mr. Chandler, the minister, and Mr. Bradford, candidate as his colleague, were called in." (From another version, all was quiet when they were present.) "Ere this, it had been decided that all unnatural appearances were optical illusions, but the twenty witnesses were not to be put down by a theory, and the two clergymen were obliged to concede the facts as stated, or virtually to hold half the parish to be fools or liars.

"To conclude, the girl was sent away. Prayer was offered at the house, and henceforth to this day chairs and tables and chests have obeyed the laws of gravitation here as elsewhere. The part taken by Esquire Spofford in this unpleasant affair is highly honorable, and in advance of his age, in forbidding all experiments."

The following poem, so to speak, was copied from the Boston Evening Transcript by the Georgetown Advocate, in its issue of Dec. 23, 1876. The author's name is given as Henry Henderson. It commemorates the incidents related in Dr. Spofford's account. The poem is followed by this note: Rowley Hill, "Now known as Spofford's hill, in Georgetown, which was formerly a part of Rowley. It is said that the heavy oaken chest hitched inch by inch across the room, with two or three men upon it, that the

latches of the doors flew up and down violently when she approached them, and things generally seemed bewitched by her. The story is here given as the writer heard it in childhood from the old people of the place. The head of the house was away at the time, but laid about in good round terms when he returned, and was ever after averse to having the matter brought up. The house was burned soon after, but to this day the spot where it stood is pointed out as one of historic interest."

The title of the poem is:

THE FRIGHT OF ROWLEY HILL

About a century since — accounts are vague —
In seventeen-eighty-one or eighty two,
(It matters little, since the account is true),
A wild commotion was created here
By the first symptom of the witchcraft plague.
One Hannah Hazen, whom report speaks well,
Was weaving as the dusk of evening fell,
When strange, mysterious noises caught the ear,
And fear seized all, and rumor filled the air.

In flocked the neighbors, all agape, to see
The fair, sweet worker of iniquity;
But stood aghast, with superstitious stare,
When thump, thump, thump came from the walls about,
As if some prisoned fiend would beat his dark way out.
Chairs, tables, all things from her evil look;
Even the old meal chest edged and edged away,
Though weighted with the gossips of the day;
Like chattering teeth the latches rattled wild,
And when she trod the whole house shuddering shook.
The clergy were called in to exorcise
So foul a spirit in so fair a guise;
But no rebuke availed, severe or mild,
And consternation sat on every face!
When from abroad the good man now returned
All who had seen or sought its deep disgrace—
For doubting what occurred, but yet too wise
To give his influence to the unseemly sacrifice.

This prompt, decisive, vigorous act of one,
Who thought delusion better silent die

That suffer the surviving infamy
That gives old Salem her unenvied fame
For deeds of violence in wild frenzy done,
Was through the love, not blind fanatic zeal,
He felt for truth and justice *all* should feel,
And saved the old town the ever-during shame
For punishing for no conscious fault or crime
One he would shield, but whom the righteous few,
Who wagged their heads and knew not what to do,
Would, in the darkness of that troubled time,
Have dragged to martyrdom had he joined the cry
Of the unreasoning crowd that Truth would crucify.

When Hagar-like the maiden fled in grief
The chairs resumed their places prim and stiff,
The tables ceased their role — all looked as if
No masquerading e'er had set them out
To revel in their master's absence brief,
So quiet reigned once more, and all went well,
Till to the flames the house a victim fell,
As 'twere the scene of this unseemly rout
Should from the mind of man be swept away.
But mothers whispered to their babes the tale,
Tradition caught it up, till like a sail,
Lost in the purple deeps of dying day,
This little glimmer from the long ago
Flashes upon the verge, ere all is sunk below.

The sources for this paper, all from my mother's collection, (I have verified the quotation from the Transcript from the files of the Georgetown Advocate), are:

1. A letter, dated Spofford Hill, Georgetown, Mass., April 19th, 1897, from Irene Tyler, (late Mrs. George Tyler, a descendant of Dr. Amos Spofford, who was a brother and neighbor of Esquire Moody Spofford, and one of the important characters in the story.

2. A letter, dated Auburndale, Mass., June 8, 1897, from Carrie Pearl Braman, a descendant of the Rev. Isaac Braman, of Georgetown, and a descendant of Abner Spofford, a brother-in-law of Esquire Moody.

3. A manuscript entitled: "The Meal Chest Story," by Prof. H. A. Hazen, of Washington, D. C., purporting to give the narrative as related by Dr. Jeremiah Spofford,

of Groveland. This is dated May 9, 1897, and concludes with Prof. Hazen's observations on the veracity of the legend.

4. A manuscript, "The Meal Chest Story," in my mother's handwriting, but not her style. It contains considerable embellishment and variations from other versions.

5. A manuscript, also in my mother's handwriting, but the authorship is attributed to Dr. Jeremiah Spofford. This is the version I have quoted in full in this paper.

6. The poem by Henry Henderson, originally published in the Transcript, but copied in the Georgetown Advocate.

REMINISCENCES OF MRS. SOPHIA L. JACKSON
WRITTEN IN 1884

FROM THE LEE COLLECTION IN THE ESSEX INSTITUTE

Philadelphia, Jan. 26th, '84.

My dear Mr. Lee:

I owe you a thousand apologies for not having sooner replied to your letter which afforded me both surprise & pleasure. Perhaps I should reverse the places of those emotions, as the delight at the thought of your compiling a History of Chestnut Street, was stronger even than my amazement that I could be of the least service to you.

I enclose, as you requested a list of Auntie's scholars, which is a complete one, as she always made an entry of their coming and leaving, in a book for that purpose. As to the list of those who were with Grandma, after her advent to Chestnut Street, I have done the best I could or rather Hannah Wayland has, for to say that she has evinced a keen interest would be but to feebly express her delight at the idea that she was of use. Her memory is something wonderful, so I fancy the list is pretty complete. Do you care for a view of the house, as it was when we left it, to my eye, perhaps prejudiced, it was far more picturesque then with its railing round the roof, & arched window over the front door, than now with its many bow windows, though doubtless the interior is far more luxurious. I have but one stereoscopic photo of it, but if you care for it I can have a plain one struck from that. As to our own counterfeit presentments, Hannah's & mine, I fear our mission in life is other than adornment, & thus the volume more artistic minus them. When the book is complete pray let me know, as my life would be incomplete without one. I should judge, that if the trees could speak, they would give you many a funny anecdote, certainly there must be many mortals who can yet do so. The only incident I can recall is the delivery by Billy Cook, of his poem on Chestnut Street, from our doorsteps, the old ones which ran up one side & down the other. As it was shortly after my Mother's death, Grandma & Auntie were driven nearly out of their minds, as the crowd was

not diminutive. Mother's death & my birth, I believe were the only incidents of the kind which occurred during our occupancy of 34, until of course those of Grandma & Auntie.

The one marriage was that of Mrs. Willard Phillips. Perhaps you already know that the body of our house, came from the Rogers farm, only then it was two stories, with the roof running to a peak which took in the window of the present third story over the front door. It was plainly evident that the two third story rooms were built on either side, as there is no carved work in them.

In making out the list of pupils, I put in brackets the names of all those I knew, but there are many before my time, and even Hannah fails to come to time as regards their husbands. Several of the later ones were scholars but a very short time before her death, but I gave the list as it stood, and I think it is almost accurate. If there are any more points which by any chance I could furnish, pray do not hesitate to ask, as it is a real pleasure to be of use in such an undertaking, and to go over once again the old life. I really feel as if I never should reach the City of Peace, for in winter we are fixtures here, & in summer, even Europe seems nearer. Please give my best love to Miss Hattie. I asked Mrs. Cole to tell her how much I should value her photograph, were she to send it to me, as I saw an excellent one Sallie Loring had. My admiration for Miss Lee has grown with my growth and strengthened with my strength, and I fancy will only die with me. If ever you should bend your steps hitherward, pray look us up, as a Salem face is a welcome sight, especially those of "old cronies."

Remember me to Mrs. Lee and to your wife,

Believe me

Very sincerely yrs,

Sophia L. Jackson.

List of people, as well as can be remembered, who were with Grandma, (Mrs. M. Tabitha Ward) after she moved into Chestnut Street:

Miss Hannah Hodges

Miss Elizabeth Hodges

Miss Sallie Allen
 Miss Alice Orne
 Miss Mary Orne
 Miss Eliza B. Davis
 Mr. Thomas Swett
 Mr. William Swett
 Dr. Horatio Robinson
 Mr. William Robinson
 Mr. John Robinson
 Mr. Francis Boardman
 Mr. Humphrey Devereux
 Miss Mary H. Boardman
 Miss Susan Berry or Bury
 Miss Emily Gardiner
 Miss Jane Thomas
 Mr. Joachim Pollado
 Mr. and Mrs. Pickering Dodge
 Mr. Edward Dodge / Children of
 Mr. Charles Dodge / Mr. & Mrs. D.
 Mr. and Mrs. Caleb Foote
 Mr. Henry W. Foote
 Miss Mary Foote
 Mr. Willard P. Phillips
 Mr. James A. Gillis
 Mr. Joseph Eckley
 Miss Emily Derby
 Mr. John Henry Silsbee
 Mr. William Dwight, Jr.

List of pupils in Miss Ward's school:

Caroline L. Richardson (Mrs. Henry Osgood)
 Laura P. Deland
 Harriet E. Silsbee (Mrs. Mott)
 Caroline Silsbee (Mrs. Pickman)
 Sarah W. Lander
 Mary B. Silsbee (Mrs. Clapp)
 Louisa Forrester
 Sarah Bray Lee (Mrs. Wheeler)
 Ellen M. Knapp
 Mary Ellen Briggs
 Elizabeth M. Forrester.
 Margaret P. Webb

Anna M. Barstow (Mrs. Ashburner)
Caroline E. Huntington
Mary H. Boardman (Mrs. Phillips)
Emily M. Derby
Mary Elizabeth Page
Elizabeth C. Hodges
Maria G. Rea
Georgiana C. Silsbee (Mrs. Saltonstall)
Martha E. Robinson (Mrs. Cabot)
Annie M. Forester
Elizabeth P. Orne
Susan C. Peirce (Mrs. Mitchell)
Anstiss I. Rogers (Mrs. Wetmore)
Anne W. Fettyplace (Mrs. Cushman)
Francis S. Huntington
Harriet C. Neal (Mrs. Rantoul)
Eliza C. Bridges
Elizabeth S. Saltonstall (Mrs. Silsbee)
Mary Elizabeth Andrews (Mrs. Oliver)
Emily M. Gardner (Mrs. Raynor)
Martha P. Rogers (Mrs. Codman)
M. Maria Neal
Caroline L. Grant
Margaret J. Endicott (Mrs. Howe)
Ellen D. Webb
Lucy E. Howes
Catharine Johnson
Maria O. Holyoke
Elizabeth B. Whittredge (Mrs. Neal)
Elizabeth Johnson
Elizabeth Bridges
Lucy R. Rogers
Anna Johnson (Mrs. Haskell)
Nancy B. Downing (Mrs. West)
Rebecca P. Page (Mrs. Glover)
Marianne O. Lee (Mrs. Peabody)
Caroline Choate (Mrs. De Gersdoff)
Ellen B. Dodge
Sarah B. Fettyplace
Maria S. Cummings
Frances E. Rea

Harriet S. W. Endicott
 Ellen M. Page
 Harriet R. Lee
 Rebecca M. Northey
 Mary C. Endicott (Mrs. Howe)
 Anne W. Brazer
 Abby G. Pingree
 Caroline D. Flint
 Susan L. Whittredge (Mrs. Waters)
 Mary E. Orne
 Mary L. Thompson (Mrs. Loring)
 Alice Orne
 Caroline E. Roberts
 Clara L. Page (Mrs. Barnes)
 Rose S. Lee (Mrs. Saltonstall)
 Elizabeth D. Webb (Mrs. Whipple)
 Fidelia Bridges
 Annie J. Silsbee
 Alice D. Silsbee (Mrs. Curtis)
 Mary C. Whittridge
 Martha P. Lander (Mrs. Peirce)
 Mary S. Hodges (Mrs. Silsbee)
 Georgiana S. Dodge
 Rebecca A. Brown
 Margaret P. Phillips
 Mary E. Andrews
 Catherine W. Downing (Mrs. Dowe)
 Ellen L. K. Hodges (Mrs. Gardiner)
 Ellen L. Abbot
 Louisa M. Ives
 Emily R. O. Peirce
 Elizabeth W. Silsbee
 Sara R. Endicott (Mrs. Dexter)
 Annie E. Kinsman (Mrs. Fenollosa)
 Lucy A. Lander
 Catherine W. Downing
 Annie E. King
 Mary Louisa Peirce
 Alice Browne
 Caroline T. Leeds
 Abby L. Thompson

Abby B. Andrews
Mary P. Downing
Laura D. Page (Mrs. Hall)
Caroline Perkins (Mrs. Osgood)
Anna P. Pingree (Mrs. Peabody)
Alice Leeds (Mrs. Heard)
Elizabeth S. Perkins (Mrs. Balch)
Mary W. Foote (Mrs. Tileston)
Josephine R. Lee (Mrs. Saltonstall)
Catharine Phillips
Anna R. Nichols (Mrs. Rogers)
Mary I. Safford
Sarah C. Daland (Mrs. Shreve)
Caroline B. Perkins (Mrs. Kemble)
Maria Pingree (Mrs. Wheatland)
Mary L. King
Sarah S. Kimball
Fanny B. Gerry
Alice S. Osborne (Mrs. Van Brunt)
Charlotte F. Devereux (Mrs. Story)
Isabel F. Upton.
Susan W. Osgood
Laura C. G. Peirce
Elizabeth B. Perkins (Mrs. Daland)
Alice F. Whitney
Grace D. Cheever (Mrs. Lovejoy)
Mary H. Fabens
Ellen G. Peirce
Annie F. Swasey
Alice I. Miller (Mrs. Barker)
Mary E. West
Elizabeth Whitney (Mrs. Whitney)
Helen McMullan
Mary E. Moore
Mary O. Pickering
Elizabeth D. Williams
Mary S. Hooper
Mary Perkins (Mrs. Wentworth)
Martha P. Whitney
Abby R. Butman
Helen W. Abbott (Mrs. Brainerd)

Sarah W. Pickering
 Eliza G. Brookhouse (Mrs. Rice)
 Anna D. West (Mrs. Willson)
 Caroline E. Curwen (Mrs. Davis)
 Elizabeth Jackson
 Jeannie C. Price
 Jane A. Phillips (Mrs. Mifflin)
 Mary E. Simes (Mrs. Walker)
 Mary C. I. Brown
 Lizzie D. R. Atkinson
 Etta M. Ives
 Mary C. Farley
 Clarimond E. White
 Mabel T. Thayer
 Mary O. Jacobs (Mrs. Sutton)
 Mary E. Peirce
 Charlotte S. Poor
 Elizabeth C. Butman (Mrs. Gladwin)
 Martha W. Fabens
 Sophia L. Ward (Mrs. Jackson)
 Anna H. Coolidge
 Grace H. Wildes
 May A. Cook (Mrs. Sutton)
 Anstiss H. Putnam
 Sarah R. Chase
 Mary E. Langley (Danvers)
 Ellen S. Haddock
 Anna F. Butman
 Elizabeth O. Abbott
 Sally W. Shepard
 Fannie Peabody
 Mary H. Peirson
 Mary P. Dow
 Lucy Butman
 Mary E. Butler (Danvers)

The teachers in drawing were:

Miss Eliza B. Davis
 Miss Lizzie Williams
 Miss Lucy E. Merrill

BOOK REVIEWS

HARVARD DICTIONARY OF MUSIC. By Willi Apel. 1944. 826 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press. Price, \$6.00.

This one volume dictionary of musical terms and subjects will interest the amateur as well as the student and scholar. The articles are well written, concise and explicit. The first part of the articles is written for the amateur and the second for the scholar. The bibliographies at the end of the articles are very useful to the research worker for not only do they refer to the books on the subject but also to periodical literature. Biographies are not included because it was felt that they had been adequately covered elsewhere. The book is well illustrated by short musical passages which are a clarifying factor. Recommended to all libraries.

NAMES ON THE LAND, A HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF PLACE-NAMING IN THE UNITED STATES. By George R. Stewart. 1945. 418 pp., octavo, cloth. New York: Random House. Price, \$3.00.

This book was written as the story of the naming of United States places—"how the great names, one by one, came to stand large on the maps, and how the little names in their thousands arose on the tongues of the people, after the varying customs of time and place, of blood and language." Mr. Stewart has filled his book with interesting facts, unusual anecdotes and entertaining conjecture. The names reflect the explorations of the Spanish, French, English and Dutch besides giving one a fascinating history of the country. Some interesting facts concerning Essex County names is found in the following taken from the volume. Lynn, Rowley, and Haverhill were named from their minister's home town in England. Marblehead was so named because it was a rocky headland. In those days, all hard rocks were called marble. Salem was named from Salem of the Bible because it meant peace and was of good omen. Beverly means a beaver stream. There is a good index. Recommended to all libraries.

MARY THOMAS'S BOOK OF KNITTING PATTERNS. 1945. 329 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, \$2.50.

This compact volume besides being a history of knitting is a practical guide to the beginner as well as the more advanced knitter. It starts with the basic stitches and goes through progressive stages to the ornamental and special ones. The

illustrations are clear cut and of historical pieces as well as those of modern design. The directions are very clear and easy to follow. The author has given the reader a good historical background without forcing it on him. The reference worker will find the index very useful. The book also contains a list of abbreviations, lists of French and German knitting terms, a texture index, a general index and a list of illustrations.

THE HOUSE OF HANCOCK. BUSINESS IN BOSTON, 1774-1775.

By W. T. Baxter. 1945, 121 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. Price, \$3.50.

This is the tenth in the series of Harvard Studies in Business History and is edited by Professor N. S. B. Gras. The author has done an outstanding work in bringing out the methods of business procedure in the eighteenth century. Fortunately the Hancock letters and account books have been preserved which made Professor Baxter's task easier, although he is far from the scene of his story, being at present professor of accounting at the University of Cape Town, South Africa. Thomas Hancock was a successful merchant and prospered, but his nephew John, who succeeded to the business, was a failure, resorted to politics and emerged as a patriot. Professor Baxter's analysis of the business which flourished until 1775 and had its fall in that year, uncovers the essentials of mercantile capitalism, including smuggling and privateering of that period. The author states that a colonial merchant had scant hope of success unless he satisfied certain ambitions. "He was forced to be content with modest ventures. He had to embrace variety, and keep himself free to slip from one line to another when new needs arose. He must be able to work in harness with many partners and agents, expecting no more from them than was reasonable and on the other hand cherishing his own credit as a man of trust. Thomas did these things. John did not. So Thomas grew rich whereas John could not even maintain the wealth that was bequeathed to him." Thomas built up a machine that for half a century supplied raw materials to London, manufactures to farms on the frontier and food to Newfoundland fishermen and West India slaves. He had faults, one of which was his method of securing his government contracts which was indefensible. There are ten illustrations, with four tables and charts. This is a book which will interest all business men and is a distinct contribution to mercantile history. Strongly recommended to all libraries.

THE
ESSEX INSTITUTE
HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

VOL. LXXXI — OCTOBER, 1945

ISSUED QUARTERLY



SALEM, MASS.

PRINTED FOR THE ESSEX INSTITUTE

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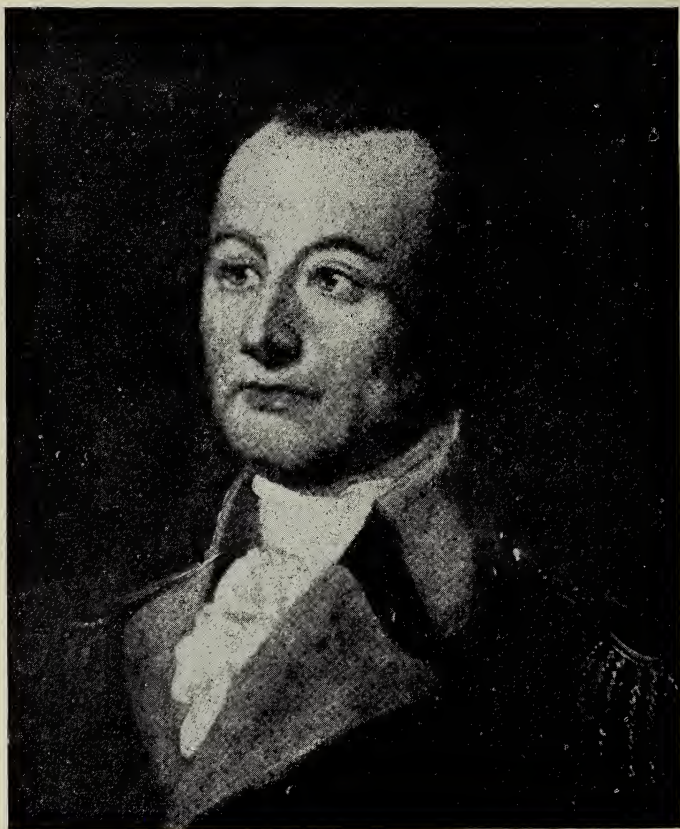
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The HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS are published quarterly in January, April, July and October, each volume containing a complete index. Yearly subscription, \$3.00. The Essex Institute disavows responsibility for the positions taken by contributors to its pages.

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GEN. JOHN GLOVER OF MARBLEHEAD

Authorized by Gen. Washington to fit out armed vessels at the Continental expense

ESSEX INSTITUTE

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

VOL. LXXXI

OCTOBER, 1945

No. 4

WASHINGTON'S FLEET AND MARBLEHEAD'S PART IN ITS CREATION

BY RICHARD TUTT.

There is probably no field so fertile for the production of disputes as is the field of history, especially that part of history that has to do with the beginning of our country and the establishment of some of its departments and activities. The history of our fighting and defensive forces of the early Revolutionary period was for the most part poorly kept or not kept at all. Some of the records, particularly maritime records preceding 1780 cannot be found, they being either lost or destroyed. Tradition, however, has done its best to hand down to us such things as are lacking in the records.

From the fact that the records are incomplete, there have arisen from time to time, between local historians and some of national repute, disputes as to when, where and how our navy came into existence. Historians are not by any means agreed on that matter. One such (a Rear Admiral) denying that Washington's fleet, so called, was in the navy at all, but was part of the army. He is entitled to his opinion, of course, but the facts are against him. Glover did not think so, as he refers to the fleet in his account books as "ye navy". Washington never thought so — to him it was "the navy," as his letter to General Schuyler clearly shows.

A navy is still a navy whether attached to an army or not. Without at the moment attempting to correct or to dispute any of the numerous claims that may exist relative to the origin of the navy, let us take a look at such records as are extant and see what our own town has to present on that interesting subject.

There occurred off the New England coast, in the decade preceding the Revolutionary War, a number of naval engagements, minor in character, but of sufficient moment to find a place in history — like for instance, the seizure of the “Pitt Packet” of Marblehead, off Cape Ann, and the attempt to impress some of its seamen; the burning of the Sloop *Liberty* in Newport harbor; the destruction of the *Gaspe* in Narragansett Bay; the Jere O’Brien affair with *Margaretta*, off the Maine coast. Then in Boston on a December night in 1773, the citizens of that town were startled by the appearance of a tribe of supposedly Mohawk Indians racing through the streets with blood curdling yells and brandishing tomahawks, to one of the wharves, where they boarded three ships loaded with contraband tea, and seized, broke open and cast into the water, 340 chests of it. It would, of course, be a wide stretch of the imagination to call the Boston Tea Party, a naval engagement. At best, it, like the other events, represented but one of the many scattered incidents that showed the tension of the times and the temper of the people.

None of these events were in any way connected with any movement or any thought for the creation of a Navy. The time had not yet arrived, nor the events sufficiently crystalized for such a purpose. Lexington, Concord and Bunker Hill were yet to come before the people were aroused to the fact that a conflict had begun and that that conflict had to be carried out to the bitter end.

Elbridge Gerry of Marblehead a member of the Continental Congress then assembled at Philadelphia, in June 1775, made a strong plea for funds and arms for the coming conflict. Some of the statesmen there assembled, sensible that a war was on, and that it must be carried on and fought with vigor, sought to secure for the colonies all the advantages of belligerents, and as an army was authorized on land, they sought preparations on the seas. Mr. Gerry, among the most determined of these, was so impressed with the importance of the matter, proposed the appointment of a committee to prepare laws for fitting out armed vessels and the establishment of courts for the trial and condemnation of prizes. Such a committee was created and Mr. Gerry was made its Chairman.

The proposed measure creating a navy, a marine corps, and courts of admiralty, was enacted into law in Nov., 1775. Mr. Gerry was made a judge in such courts, but owing to his press of other duties, he had to decline the honor. Thus far you have had a glimpse of the preliminaries leading up to the founding of our Navy, and some of the necessary ground work connected therewith. But to find the sources from which our Navy had its origin, we must turn our attention to the conditions existing and the events occurring in and around Boston in those exciting days in the Spring of 1775.

General Gage, who had been the military governor of Massachusetts under the Crown and also the Commander of the British forces in America, was replaced by Lord Howe who, with his fleet, was occupying Boston when Washington took command of the American forces at Cambridge. Doubtless, when Lord Howe saw, or heard about this motley collection of untrained, undisciplined and largely unarmed men, known as the Continental Army, that under Washington was being trained for service against the ministerial armed forces, he was moved to laughter at the thought of this so called army coming into conflict with his own highly trained and efficient men. Outside of the Virginia Riflemen and Glover's Marine Regiment, there were no uniforms in the whole outfit except a few individual ones that represented some of the militia units that were scattered about the Colonies.

Before the late summer however, this army that may have aroused Lord Howe's sense of humor, had so completely shut off his supplies from the land side, that he was forced to send to the Provinces, the West Indies and to England for his necessary military needs. The result of this was that in and out of Boston there were continuously sailing vessels of all types loaded with military stores of every description for the use of the British forces.

Elbridge Gerry (the father of our Navy) always on the alert, Col. John Glover, Captains Broughton, Manly and Selman were greatly disturbed over such a state of affairs, and determined to lay the matter before the Commander-in-Chief, showing him that so long as these conditions existed there could be no hope of driving Howe out of Bos-

ton. Incidentally, the Continental Army itself, was greatly in need of these stores. Whereupon Messrs. Gerry and Glover appeared before General Washington, and stated to him the situation as they saw it. The Commander-in-Chief was so impressed with their views that he at once saw the necessity of stopping this flow of goods into Boston. Without waiting for Congress to act and on his own responsibility, Washington authorized Col. Glover to find and fit out at the Continental expense vessels to put an end to such a situation.

In times of peace, Col. John Glover of Marblehead, was engaged in the fishing business and owned several fishing vessels. About the year 1774, in order to take care of his growing business, he purchased in Beverly, a wharf and a store house. This wharf appears to have been located near the easterly end of the present coal pockets that are close by the Essex (but better known as the Beverly) Bridge. The bridge, however, did not exist at that time. Laid up at this wharf was the schooner *Hannah* of Marblehead, owned by Jonathan Glover, brother of the General. This vessel had been engaged in the coastwise trade, largely between Salem, Marblehead and the West Indies, under Capt. Richard James, but now idle owing to the unsettled conditions in the Colonies. Col. Glover with a crew of men from his Marine Regiment, proceeded to Beverly, and at his wharf there, transformed this peaceful craft into an armed vessel of war.

On Sept. 2, 1775, the *Hannah* was ready for sea. On that day Capt. Nicholson Broughton of Marblehead, was commissioned Captain of the armed schooner *Hannah* by General Washington. Broughton's orders were "to take and seize all vessels as may be found on the high seas or elsewhere, bound to or from Boston in the service of the ministerial army laden with soldiers, arms, armaments or provisions for or from said army." Capt. Broughton with a crew made up from members of his own company in the Marblehead Regiment, sailed from Beverly on the 5th of September 1775 in this vessel. Two days later he arrived at Gloucester with a large unarmed ship the *Unity*, which he had captured off Cape Ann, loaded with military stores for the use of the British forces. The *Unity* was

an American ship that had been taken by the British and now recaptured.

Obviously one lone vessel could not accomplish much in stopping this flow of supplies into Boston, so Glover was instructed to charter and fit out more vessels for this service. On Oct. 4, 1775, Washington ordered Glover and his regiment from Cambridge to Beverly, which place felt itself exposed to attack and in need of protection. While the regiment was encamped at Beverly, several fortified camps were established there for training purposes and for defense. One of these camps was located at Hospital Point, one at Woodbury's Point, and one at a place off Hale Street near where a party from the *Arbella* landed in 1630.

In a short time Glover succeeded in chartering in the name of the United Colonies of North America, four vessels from their Marblehead owners. They were the *Franklin*, *Hancock*, *Lee* and *Warren*. These vessels were chartered at the rate of \$1.00 per ton, per month. To this group there was later added the Schooner *Lynch*, she taking the place of the *Hannah*, which was found to be too slow and cumbersome for this service, and was withdrawn. The work of fitting out these vessels began at once, the *Franklin* and *Warren* at Beverly, the *Lee* and the *Lynch* at Marblehead. The work progressed as rapidly as possible under the trying circumstances, as they experienced great difficulties in obtaining the necessary supplies and armaments. Washington in a letter to General Schuyler in Nov., 1775, refers to his action in authorizing this fleet, which came to be known as "Washington's Fleet".

On October 12, 1775, Congress authorized Washington to dispatch to the Gulf of Saint Lawrence, two vessels to intercept and capture two Brigs bound from England to Quebec, with military stores of all kinds for the British armed forces in America. The *Franklin* and the *Lynch* were chosen for this service. The *Hancock*, *Lee* and *Warren* were reserved by Washington to cruise off Boston Harbor. The command of the *Lee* was given to Capt. John Manly, on the recommendation of Col. John Glover. On October 16, 1775, Capt. Broughton received a Commo-

dore's Commission, Manly and Selman each a Captain's Commission.

On the 21st of October 1775, Com. Broughton in the *Lynch* and Capt. Selman in the *Franklin* sailed from Marblehead under sealed orders for the Gulf of Saint Lawrence. Each vessel was manned by a crew of volunteers, made up from members of the companies in the Marine Regiment which Broughton and Selman had commanded. This was the first American Expeditionary Force ever to sail from these shores under authority of Congress. And what is more, these men — "Soldiers of the Sea" were, in fact, if not in name, our first Marine Corps.

It is most unfortunate that the early records of our fighting forces, particularly that of the early Revolutionary period were so poorly kept, and in some instances not kept at all. This gave great distress to Ex-President John Adams, for we find him in 1813 writing to Hon. Elbridge Gerry, at that time the Vice President of the United States, complaining about the lack of information at hand about the early history of the Navy. In closing his letter to Mr. Gerry, he makes this request: "Pray write to Capt. John Selman of Marblehead, and pray him to commit his recollections to writing. Broughton and Selman are important characters, and their ten prizes important events as well as Gov. Wright." To this request Captain Selman wrote the Vice President the story of this adventure to the St. Lawrence as nearly as he could recall it after more than thirty years, as he had no records save that of his memory.

From this account given by Capt. Selman, it appears that they sailed from Marblehead, Oct. 20 or 21st, he could not say which, positively, for the Saint Lawrence River. In running over Brown's Bank, the *Franklin* shipped a sea that badly racked her, causing a leak that put them under the necessity of proceeding to a place called Country Harbor, on the Nova Scotia Coast, to stop the same. As soon as the *Franklin* was ready for sea, she sailed immediately. Owing to head winds, they could not get around Cape North (Cape Breton Island) so they ran in to the Gut of Canso, hoping for a shift in the wind.

The wind, however, held northerly for a long time, and the season was coming on turbulent.

While the two vessels were lying in the gut wind bound, word was received that a vessel had entered there and anchored. Com. Broughton ordered Capt. Selman to take possession of her. The winds shifting to the south, Selman complied. In doing so he carried away his main mast, and was obliged to put into a place known as Plaster de Paris Bay. There some of the crew were sent ashore and into the woods to find a suitable tree for a mast. Before they found such a one, five trees were cut down. It took several days to get it out of the woods, trimmed and fitted. While waiting at the Gut they found there two Jerseymen, whose pilots said they were acquainted with the coast and the Island of St. John's, where they said there was a fortress and cannon, and that recruiting was going on for Quebec. Broughton called a consultation of the officers, and on their advice, decided to attempt to break up this nest of recruits intended to be sent against Montgomery who commanded our forces at Quebec.

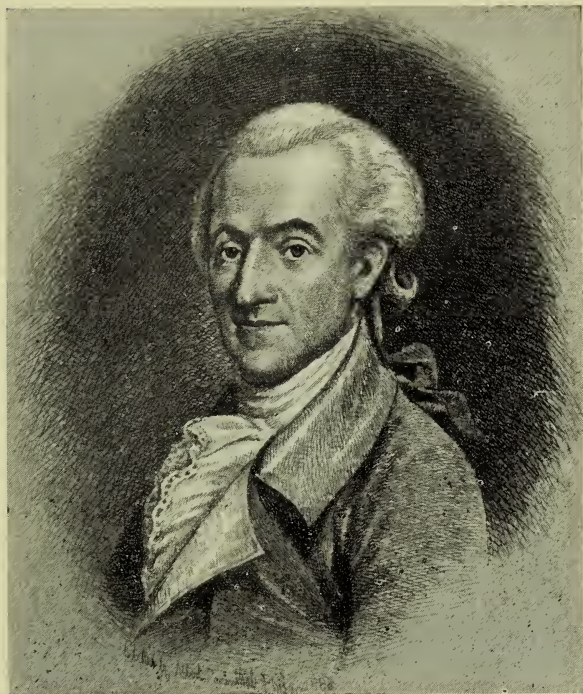
Believing that they were doing an essential service they set out for the Island. The winds continuing southerly, they sailed through the Gut of Canso, taking with them the pilots from the two Jerseymen. The pilots were warned that should they run the ships ashore, death would be their fate. They proved, however, true and faithful. The fall weather carried them safe into the harbor by the lead, and they anchored about a mile and a half from the shore. Broughton armed his boat with six men, and took a southwesterly course to the shore. Selman proceeded to the north with six men including one of the pilots. The people were assembled on the shore. The pilot who knew Gov. Colbeck let Selman know by a sign, which was the Governor. Selman took him and sent him on board of the *Franklin*, together with Judge Wright, they being the officials serving George the 3rd for Quebec. Selman demanded of the Governor, the keys to the storehouses and other places where goods were stored. They found quantities of goods which they believed, were intended for the armed forces. Broughton called his officers together for their opinion on the matter. When in their judgment the goods

were intended for the recruiting service, they were seized and sent on board the *Franklin* and the *Lynch*.

The intercession of Colbeck and of Wright to be restored to their families had aroused the passions of the people, and they were allowed to go ashore that night and come on board the next morning. Capt. Selman objected verbally to this arrangement as he thought it gave the advantage to the enemy. However, they came on board the next morning, so that the vessels were able to put to sea at once. They arrived at the Gut of Canso where another attempt was made by Colbeck and Wright to obtain their freedom, they insinuating that Broughton and Selman would be blamed by the government. Selman refused to give his consent. Wright then threatened to have Selman hung at the yard arm should they fall in with a British frigate.

To this threat Selman replied that he would venture that, and for Wright to take care that he himself should not be so hung — that our aim was to break up the recruiting business, and the next was to such men as Gov. Colbeck and Judge Wright, that they might answer to redeem Montgomery or some other of his army should he meet defeat on the walls of Quebec — these were the reasons for their detention and bringing them to America. Capt. Selman said that as near as he could give information there were seven vessels taken and sent home; all of them were finally released. The *Franklin* and the *Lynch* arrived at Marblehead on December 4, 1775. They landed near the dwelling place of Col. Glover — probably at the wharf where the Graves Yacht Yard on Front Street now is. Messrs. Colbeck and Wright at once went to headquarters at Cambridge, to see the Commander-in-Chief. After hearing their account of the affair, Washington released them at once, and ordered the return of the vessels and the goods.

The year being nearly up, Com. Broughton and Capt. Selman went to headquarters at Cambridge to see the General. He met them on the steps at the door of the mansion serving as the headquarters, they giving him to understand they had called to see him touching the cruise. He appeared not at all pleased to see them and wanted not to hear anything about it. He broke off the interview



HON. ELBRIDGE GERRY OF MARBLEHEAD

A member of the Continental Congress of 1775, appointed chairman of the first committee to prepare laws for fitting out armed vessels

He has been called the "Father of our Navy"

abruptly. Turning to Selman, he said "Sir, will you stand again in Col. Glover's Regiment?" Selman replied "I will not, Sir!" The same question was asked Broughton to which he replied "I will not stand, Sir!" Both Broughton and Selman, who had been previously severely reprimanded by the General, were deeply hurt and chagrined by the treatment they received at the hands of the Commander-in-Chief, and at his attitude towards them for doing what they thought was an essential and necessary duty, even though they had no orders to do such things. But Washington thought otherwise — he taking the stand that at that time the colonies were not at war with the British Sovereign, but only with the Ministerial Army. He did not want to antagonize our northern neighbors.

The original fleet as created by Glover under the orders of Washington was made up of the *Hannah*, *Franklin*, *Lee*, *Lynch*, *Hancock* and *Warren*. The *Hannah* made but one cruise and was withdrawn. On Jan. 1, 1776, the fleet was reorganized and placed under the command of Com. John Manley of Marblehead, by orders issued by the Naval Committee of Congress. The fleet as now made up was as follows:—*Franklin*, *Hancock*, *Harrison*, *Lee*, *Lynch*, *Warren* and *Washington*. During the six months preceding the evacuation of Boston, this fleet captured 35 British vessels. One prize alone carried an amount of ammunition it is estimated that would have taken eighteen months to make in the colonies. This small fleet was the real beginning of our Navy, and from it has come the great naval establishment of today.

D. W. Knox in his "History of the United States Navy" says "The actual creation of a Continental Navy force was undertaken by General Washington soon after assuming command of the Army, in an effort to relieve an acute shortage of munitions by capturing British Ships". The Legislative birth of the Navy took place under the leadership of John Adams in October, 1775, when Congress resolved: "that two vessels be fitted out with all possible dispatch for intercepting two ships loaded with warlike stores and other supplies to our enemies". From time immemorial it has been noted that the great and wise men, the very great are sometimes grievously in error. Tradition has it

that even the great Homer nodded occasionally. If that be so, it is not to be wondered at that Chief Justice John Marshall should also be caught napping. In his second volume of his "Life of Washington," he refers to Capt. John Manly and the Schooner *Lee* as a "privateer". This statement moved old John Adams to wrath, and he writes Ellbridge Gerry in protest, to ask "why does Marshall call Manly and his ship a "privateer"? Manly was fitted out by authority of Congress, the National Sovereign, by Washington as their executive agent. If ever there was a public ship, Manly's was one. Not one word about Broughton and Selman. Where is the dignity, the impartiality of history? Marshall may have been able to think clear on abstruse questions of Law, but he certainly slipped on a plain and simple historical fact.

Thus, told as briefly as possible, you have the story of the origin of our Navy, who the men were that brought forward the idea, where the ships were owned, who fitted them out, who manned and commanded them. Several towns have laid claim to the honor of being the birthplace of the Navy. Among them is a neighboring town in which a small group claim that honor from the fact that the *Hannah* sailed from that port as an armed vessel of war. True, the *Hannah* did sail from that port on that eventful September day in 1775, and that town is entitled to all the honor and all the glory that incident affords. But, it was only an incident in a long list of events that led up to the creation of the Navy. Such claims should be based on something more substantial than the incident of an accidental sailing from that or from any port.

Such a claim Marblehead most surely possesses. For, be it remembered, that the idea of a Navy was conceived first by men of Marblehead. That the idea thus conceived was put into effect by men of Marblehead. That the Navy so created was made up of vessels owned in and hailing from Marblehead. That they were fitted out and equipped by men of Marblehead, and that they were manned and commanded by men of Marblehead. Furthermore, they were duly commissioned for such service by the Continental Authorities. We suspect that the claimants for this honor, based as it is on this single incident, were so

bewildered by the gorgeous colors they have worked into their picture of the event, and were so dazzled by the gilding on its frame, they could not discover and see the real picture which history itself with fewer and softer tones has so deftly painted for all the world to see. The history of our Navy, particularly in its earlier days, is so closely related with Marblehead, that down through the years one could not think about the one without thinking about the other.

During the early days of the Navy such names as Crowninshield, Gerry, Glover, Gregory, Selman and Trevett have appeared upon its ships. Today four of its destroyers carry the names of Cowell, Manly, Mugford and Tucker, sons of Marblehead who distinguished themselves in the naval service. Two of its ships besides the present one, have borne the name of our town. Not only was the town honored by these gracious acts of the Navy Department, but the name Marblehead has brought honor and glory to the Navy itself. How our hearts throbbed and our blood surged, as the story of the action in the Java Sea unfolded, and the gallant ship that carries our name came through that ordeal, sorely wounded, but with head up and still game, as she limped half way around the world, part of the way rudderless, to a home port, where her wounds could be healed and the ship returned to duty. Again she was on the high seas, and her return to duty was glorified by an act of mercy, the rescue of part of a ship's crew that were the victim of the vicious "U-boat" that most damnable of all the lethal instruments of war yet invented, and the only one whose proper use has been deliberately and persistently abused.

Time does not permit us the story of 1812, of '61 or of '98 — not even of that Sabbath morning in April, 1814, when its quiet was broken by the tramp of soldiers and the rumble of artillery through our streets as men turned to the defense of that glorious ship, the *Constitution*, as she sought refuge under the guns of Fort Sewall from her pursuers. Had it been possible for any of us to have stood on that eventful day on some of our head lands — the Old Burial Hill, Bailey's Hill, or even Beacon Hill — and watched that thrilling pageant unfold before our eyes how

our hearts would have leaped and how our blood would have tingled as we marked the course of that noble ship with its towering mass of canvas, coming steadily on toward the Fort, until it seemed as if her lofty bowsprit would sweep off the ramparts any who may have been there, and noted the superb seamanship and skill of that Marblehead man (Sam'l H. Green) at the helm, as he so coolly and gracefully swung his ship up into the harbor of safety. Why say more?

Just so long as our Navy shall exist, the words Navy and Marblehead will be synonymous. May their glory and honor never be less.

APPENDIX

In order to expedite the fitting out of the armed vessels, and to look after the necessary supplies and expenses, Washington appointed as agents for that purpose, William Bartlett of Beverly and Jonathan Glover of Marblehead. They acted in that capacity until Jan. 1, 1776, at which time the fleet was taken over by the Naval Committee of Congress.

The vessels chartered by General Glover, by authority of Washington, were as follows:—

HANNAH

Schooner 78 tons Heel-tapper type
 Rig — Mainsail — foresail — jib
 Arm't — 4 — 4 pdrs — 10 swivels
 Crew 65 men
 (In Service 2 mos & 21 days)
 Owner — Jonathan Glover — Marblehead

FRANKLIN

Schooner 66 tons Fisherman
 Rig — mainsail — foresail — 2 jibs
 Arm't — 6-4 pdrs — 10 swivels
 Crew 60 men (about)

This vessel was used by Capt. Jas. Mugford in the capture of the HMS Hope, May 1, 1776.

Owner — Archibald Selman — Marblehead

LEE

Schooner 72 tons — Half deck Fisherman
 Rig — Mainsail — foresail — jib and sq. sail on
 fore top
 Arm't 6-4 pdrs — 10 swivels
 Crew — 50-60 men
 Owner — Thomas Shepard — Marblehead

LYNCH

Schooner — 72 tons — Fisherman
 Rig — Mainsail — foresail & jib
 Arm't — 6-4 pds — 10 swivels
 Crew — 65 men (About)
 (Replaced the Hannah)
 Owner — John Stevens — Marblehead

HANCOCK

Schooner — 72 tons — Fisherman
 Rig — Mainsail — foresail & jib
 Arm't 6-4 pdrs — 10 swivels
 Crew — 60 men (about)
 Owner — Thomas Grant — Marblehead

WARREN

Schooner — 70 tons — Fisherman
 Rig — Mainsail — foresail & jib
 Arm't — 4-4 pdrs — 10 swivels
 Crew 50-60 men
 Sailed under Capt. Adams and a crew from
 Gen'l Sullivan's N. H. Regt.
 Owner — John Twisden — Marblehead

Besides the armaments as listed above, these vessels carried an assortment of muskets, pistols, pikes, cutlasses, hatchets, etc.

HARRISON & WASHINGTON

These two fitted out at Plymouth, at a cost of £1015-16-8 $\frac{1}{4}$ for the two.

Harrison was under Capt. Cort of Conn.

Washington was under Capt. Martindale of R. I.

Joined the fleet then under Com. John Manly, in Jan. 1776.

The several fishing banks between Marblehead and Newfoundland, are in their order, as follows:—

Georges (sometimes called "Dead Man's Bank) Browns, LaHave, Western, Quero and Grand.

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SHIPBUILDING AND SHOE BUSINESS IN ESSEX IN 1845.

The following is a statement of the amount of Ship timber and merchandise generally, brought into and carried from the town of Essex, for the year ending March 1845 with the cost of transporting the same; — the whole statement being the result of careful inquiry, made by a Committee of the citizens of the town, raised for that purpose, in February 1845.

Number of vessels built from March 1844, to March 1845 — twenty seven averaging 65 tons each.

Amount of Ship timber necessary for building the same, is by all measurement 2025 tons.

Cost of transporting said timber at \$2.50 per ton \$4556.00

Weight of Cordage, Duck, Anchors, Copper, Iron, Oakum, Paint and blocks, — 119 tons including 6 tons hemp & cotton manufactured in town at \$2.50 pr ton	297.00
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Pine timber & spars for same — 324 tons	810.00
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Pitch and tar — 54 barrels	10.00
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100 tons Salt and 200 tons groceries at \$2.50 pr ton	750.00
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2000 bushels Corn at 5 cts	100.00
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77½ tons Flour at 2.50 cts	193.00
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25 tons Coal	
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30 tons Iron at \$2.50	137.00
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9 tons leather & hides at 2.50	22.50
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81000 feet pine boards for vessel building at 2 dolls. per M.	162.00
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Amount of Shoes for said year in 104,112 pairs —cost of transportation to Danvers and else- where	867.00
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Amount of shoes closed — 115350 pairs	
“ “ bound 19900 “	150.00

Amount of clams dug — 180 tons, cost of trans- porting same at	450.00
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English hay sold abroad 500 tons	750.00
Amount of travel ascertained by inquiry made of each family in town —	
Single journies made to Boston amount of 1991 at \$1.70 for going and returning, the expense is —	3384.00
Single journies made to Salem, Danvers, Marblehead & Beverly — 2627 at One doll. for going & returning —	2627.00
Ditto to Gloucester, Ipswich & Newburyport 2584 — (deduct one half the journies to Gloucester, as being for marked purposes) leaves 1434 at 70 cts	1003.00
	<hr/>
	\$16268.00

Essex, March 3, 1845.

David Choate per order of Committee.

Actual value of the within Shipping when ready for sea	\$73710.00
do. Shoes made at 75 cts per pair	78084.00
do. — of closing 115350 pairs	2307.00
do. — binding 19900 pairs	497.00
do. English hay sold, at 12 ton	6000.00
do. 1200 barrels Clams at 5 dolls.	6000.00
do. Lines & twines, manufactured	4500.00
do. — 27 boats — at 28 dolls.	750.00
	<hr/>
	\$171848.00

—*Essex Institute Mss. Collection.*

Song of the Kansas Emigrants

We cross the prairie as if old
Our fathers crossed the sea
To make the West as they the east
The homestead of the free.

We go to over a water of mine
On Freedom's southern side
And plant in the cotton land
The rugged Northern pine.

We're flowing from our native hill,
As our free rivers flow
The blessing of our northern land
Is no less so.

We go to plant our common schools
On distant prairie wells,
And give the Sabbath of the wild
The music of Rev. bells.

Up bearing like the ark of old
The terrible in our van

We go to test the truth of God
Against the fraud of man,

No man nor wind, save where the streams
That feed the Kansas run,
Save where our pilgrim generations
Shall plant the settlement.

We'll trace the prairie as if old
Our fathers crossed the sea
To make the West as they the east
The homestead of the free.

John G. Sullivan

KANSAS AND "THE PRAIRIED WEST" OF JOHN G. WHITTIER

BY CORA DOLBEE

The idea for this study has grown gradually. The first suggestion came with the discovery of the early manuscript copy of *The Kansas Emigrants*, herewith reproduced as the frontispiece. Then the less well-known poems on Kansas challenged attention. Wide use also, during the Kansas-Nebraska struggle, of a great number of Whittier's other poems on the anti-slavery theme seemed to have intensified the poet's influence upon the settlement of the area. Investigation of those poems and the situations that occasioned their reproduction revealed little known parallel prose writings that help explain the author's long and continuous interest in the anti-slavery cause. Throughout Whittier's writings, viewed together then, appeared persistently the Western theme.

The readers of the study need to remember that when Whittier began writing of the West in the 1820's only the area east of the Mississippi was organized into states. Michigan was a territory. Arkansas was a territory. The Middle-West was known as "Indian Country," and the Far West and the Southwest were occupied by Great Britain and Spain. By 1854 when the Indian Country was organized into Nebraska and Kansas territories, the Far West and the Southwest had become possessions of the United States. Nebraska Territory was then bounded on the west by Washington and Utah territories; on the north, by Canada; on the east, by Minnesota Territory, Iowa, and Missouri; and on the south, by Kansas Territory. Kansas Territory was bounded on the west by Utah and New Mexico territories; on the north, by Nebraska Territory; on the east, by Missouri; and on the south, by Indian and New Mexico territories.

To the staff of the Kansas State Historical Society in Topeka, acknowledgment is due for use of the manuscript copies of *The Kansas Emigrants* and for aid in the collection of many of Whittier's compositions used in the na-

NOTE:—Miss Dolbee, a member of the Department of English at the University of Kansas when she made this study, is assigned at present to the library staff.

tional and the territorial press, 1854-1861; to the staff of the University of Kansas library, for procuring through inter-library loan various necessary references; to Miss Evelyn Dudley, for matter pertaining to the Whittier Club of Leavenworth; to Mr. L. R. Lind, for suggesting the desirability of the critical part of the study; to Miss Rose Morgan, for reading the manuscript and for explaining views and expressions peculiar to Friends; and to Mr. Thomas Franklin Currier for aid in several bibliographical items, especial notation appearing with each item.

John Greenleaf Whittier had a long and abiding interest in the prairies of the West and in the life of the peoples who dwelt on them. In prose and in verse he wrote of them over a period of sixty-four years. Again and again he made effective word pictures of the region, both in full description and in suggestive allusion. He discussed the natural resources and their future development. He portrayed the changing life of mountain and plain and repeatedly he met their challenging social problems. He wrote of Indian lore early and late. Toward the middle of the century when the political destiny of the part of the area that was to be Kansas and Nebraska became a national issue, he made his every utterance upon it a plea for freedom. He was both poet and politician in its behalf.

For twenty years Whittier had already been working to prevent the extension of slavery and, at intervals, had sought to secure specific sections of the West to freedom. By 1853, when the Kansas-Nebraska area became an entity in itself, he had become so experienced in treatment of the anti-slavery theme that the poetic instincts he had foregone in first championing the cause in 1833 had crept back into his writing. Some of his compositions upon the Kansas-Nebraska issue are in consequence among his best anti-slavery works.

In the Kansas-Nebraska issue the anti-slavery cause itself approached its crisis. Naturally Whittier wrote often upon it. Most of his literature upon Kansas belongs to this period. It includes all of his well-known writings on Kansas, and it also includes many he is not commonly known to have written at all. Together they constitute a

unit of his anti-slavery work, the themes and the treatment widening out into national problems as the anti-slavery cause itself became absorbed in the issue of union. Whittier's more permanent interest in the natural features of the area, meanwhile, continued to appear in allusion, if not in theme; and after the Civil War the new problems of free settlers, both black and white, again and again evoked his sympathy. This study, therefore, will not only survey Whittier's contribution to freedom in Kansas, 1853-1861, in relation to his general treatment of the anti-slavery cause, but it will also place that offering chronologically against the full, more permanent picture of the area in narrative and letter and song from 1827 to 1891.

1. EARLY CHALLENGE OF THE AREA

I hear the far-off voyager's horn;
 I see the Yankee's trail, —
 His foot on every mountain-pass,
 On every stream his sail.

I see the swarthy trappers come
 From Mississippi's springs;
 And war-chiefs with their painted brows,
 And crests of eagle wings.

— *On Receiving an Eagle's Quill from
 Lake Superior*, stanzas 5 and 9

Three interests were apparent in Whittier's early writing of the West. Indian life was one; the threatening effect of slavery was another; and the natural features desirable for free settlement was a third. Although Whittier's early West was more or less indeterminate, extending from Delaware to the Rockies, and beyond, and from Lake Superior to Mexico, its characteristics and its significance were generally similar. As early as 1822 and 1823 he heard personal accounts of the area from William Forster, who in 1820 had toured Ohio and Indiana and had later visited at the Whittier home in Haverhill.¹ Twice Whittier planned to migrate to the West himself.

Whittier's first literary use of the particular region now known as Kansas and Nebraska was in a narrative poem relating a romantic adventure of hostile Indian tribes.

Written first in 1827 as *The Pawnee Brave*,² the poem had no specified setting save forest and torrential stream; but, revised in 1842 as *The Rescue*, the new poem placed the episode on the plains between the Ozarks and the Wind River Mountains. The first poem made the hero a Pawnee but did not name the opposing warriors. The second poem regarded the rescuer as a Kansas Indian who recovered the bound maiden from the Pawnees.

In the 1827 version the rescuing warrior on a tramping steed rushed out of a gloomy forest of giant trees to free the helpless victim from a blazing funeral pile. Near by rolled a torrent darkly red and the air was mist-encumbered. The phrasing of the 1842 portrayal was more simple but fuller; misty air, prairie grass, forest path, wild waters, and whirling storm, however, made definite pictures.

Ask ye where the twain have gone?
Track the setting of the sun,
Where the wild Wind-river chain
Breaks the Western desert's plain,
Peak on peak, in summer's glow,
Flashing with unwasted snow,
Where the Kansas wanders free
By the willowy Siskadee
There their pictured tent is spread,
With the soft fur carpeted.⁴

Meantime, in 1831, Whittier first thought of going to the West to live himself.⁵ He was then in Hartford, Connecticut, where he had been editing the *New England Review*. On January 31 he wrote Cornelia Russ of a proposed "absence from my own New England, whether in the sunny South or the 'Far West.'"⁶ In March he did leave Hartford, but he went to his home in Haverhill. On February 2, 1832, he told his poet friend, Mrs. Lydia H. Sigourney, that when he left Hartford he had intended "to proceed immediately to the West," but a continuance of ill health had kept him at home.⁷

Ill health, however, did not interfere with Whittier's continued interest in the development of the area. In 1833, as he began opposing slavery actively, he warned against "the imprisonment of the free colored citizens of

the Northern and Middle states, on suspicion of being run-aways,"⁸ and he told the South that because of the dispute in which it held labor, the tide of the emigration was flowing "from the slave-cursed shores of the Atlantic to the free valleys of the West."⁹ From his first advocacy of the anti-slavery cause he sought to keep all phases of the issue before the public. To secure action he turned to politics, though in that field his health forced him to "keep on the outer circles of the maelstrom."¹⁰ He thought, nevertheless, all the time, and he could write when he could do little else. Through pamphlets, letters, and editorials, through personal contacts, and through his verse, which he soon learned to adapt facilely and pithily to every occasion of the moment, Whittier now came to be a potent force, not only in the anti-slavery cause but in progressive national politics.¹¹ In 1835 he helped organize the Liberty party, which was the nucleus of the third-national party, ultimately known as Republican. He supported candidates for the Presidency and for Congress. He worked for the coalition of old parties and he blocked the election of undesirable candidates, even accepting nominations himself to cause deadlocks. He chose candidates for the party and drew on his wide but select acquaintance to secure their nominations. Although his activities were confined to the East, he had the welfare of the nation at heart. In recommending persons for office, he always examined their attitude toward the newly developing West. If his candidate failed of election or if he declined nomination, Whittier, nevertheless, found gain, direct or indirect, in the effort, and noted it, and, thus inspired, worked on in his double cause. Abolition of slavery was his first end, but second only to it was the desire to keep the unsettled West free of the curse. Frequently, in prose and in verse, he recorded his forethought for the region.

In three poems, *Ritner*, 1837, *Pennsylvania Hall*, 1838, and *The New Year*, 1839, Whittier visualized the freedom that first pressed "the virgin verdure of the wilderness" in Pennsylvania, as now spreading "her white pinions to our Western blast" and shedding her strengthening light "o'er lakes and prairies."¹² Benjamin Lundy, whose pa-

per, *The Pennsylvania Freeman*, Whittier was now editing, was himself travelling in the Mississippi valley as a public Friend.¹³ Of him Whittier was probably thinking in part as he addressed *The New Year* to the patrons of the *Freeman*, January 1, 1839, saying,

East, West, and North, the shout is heard,
Of freemen rising for the right;
Each valley hath its rallying word,
Each hill its signal light.¹⁴

The year 1844 was full of warnings. Channing's dying word still echoed over Western hill and vale to stir the hearts of freeman.¹⁵ *The Sentence of John L. Brown* was a summons to East and West and South and North to "speak out in acts" and in "one short sharp struggle to be free."¹⁶ Poems evoked the same year by the proposed annexation of Texas were the free voice of New England speaking, as became the free, to waken free battalions of "the level sunset land."¹⁷

In 1844, in a prose essay, *The Better Land*, Whittier also drew again upon local lore of the Middle West to illustrate Charles Lamb's thesis that "the shapings of our heavens are the modifications of our constitution."¹⁸ He told of the Indian's conception of a happy hunting ground toward the sunset as manifested in the "solemnly awful" supplication of an Indian mourner on a lone grave near the Omaha mission-house. He also cited a story of one Dr. Nelson of Missouri, who, after a tiring forenoon of summer travel on the prairie, lay down beneath a solitary tree to rest and commune with himself, as though in view of the heavenly wonders he described in chant:

O the joys that are there mortal eye hath not seen!
.....
O brightness on brightness! the pearl gate uncloses!
O white wings of angels! O fields white with roses!
O white tents of peace, where the rapt soul reposes!
O the waters so still, and the pastures so green!

In 1845 Whittier for a second time considered going to the West to reside.¹⁹ He has left no indication of exactly what occasioned this plan or of the place to which he meant to go. William Forster had returned to Washington in

1845 from his second tour of the West. This time he had visited the Quaker colony in Salem, Iowa, where Reuben Dorland had just founded a seminary. Forster's account probably interested Whittier in the Iowa settlement of Friends. Forster, too, no doubt, partly inspired the poet's plea for union and for united action against slavery, in *Lines Suggested by a Visit to the City of Washington in the 12th month of 1845*.²⁰

To thy duty now and ever!

Dream no more of rest or stay:

Give to freedom's great endeavor

All thou art and hast today:

Thus, above the city's murmur, saith a Voice,
or seems to say.²¹

Here the breadth of the poet's conception obviated any need of sectional reference.

Through the middle forties, as Whittier's own political activities increased in proportion to the editorial obligations he assumed,²² the applicability of his plans to his desired ends was not always immediately apparent. Support of Sumner was a case in point. For six years the poet-editor advised with the orator before getting him into the United States senate, and thereafter he counseled with him, in silence and in speech, throughout the long senatorial career. Although Whittier had met Charles Sumner in 1829, he did not think of him as a potential public figure until 1845, when he commended him for his Fourth of July oration upon *The True Grandeur of Nations*, declaring it "the very best plea for peace which has ever fallen under my notice."²³ In August, Whittier planned to meet Sumner in Boston at the Liberty convention. In October his letters told of quiet travel through Massachusetts towns in the general interests of the party. In March, 1846, the poet used anonymous satirical verse to register the defeat of the pro-slavery democracy in New Hampshire;²⁴ and in September, to the successful Independent Democratic candidate, John P. Hale, he suggested common ground for unity of all liberty-loving groups.²⁵ In September he sent Sumner a copy of *The Pine Tree*, with its challenge,

Where's the man for Massachusetts?

Where's the voice to speak her free?²⁶

As Whittier's prose and verse now supplemented each other closely in record of his political outlook, so his activities supplemented his writing.

At the same time he kept eye and pen alert to various other interests in the West. When General Winfield Scott was reported to have blown up churches and hospitals in Mexico in 1847 and then to have joined in services for the dead in the shattered churches, Whittier commented in a long satirical editorial in prose, *Piety and Justice*.²⁷ In September, 1847, he praised *The Herald of Truth*, a monthly publication of Cincinnati, as "certainly creditable to Western literature."²⁸ Although he did not approve the transcendental philosophy of the staff and the contributors, he thought the freshness, the freedom, the simple earnestness, and the exalted aim of some of the prose articles contrasted favorably with the general tenor and execution of magazine writing of the day. A week later, in review of another monthly, *The New England Offering*,²⁹ he singled out for particular commendation a series of fables or "Prose Poems" by Lucy Larcom, who had left her loom in Lowell in 1846 "for the comparative freedom of a school teacher in the West."³⁰ He then quoted her sketch, "The Prairie Violets."³¹

In 1847, when Whittier had become contributing editor of *The National Era*, "the North was ringing with his passionate outbursts against slavery," and the Liberty party held the balance of power between the old parties.³² Both poems and editorials now kept the West and its needs vividly before the public mind. *To a Southern Statesman* warned John C. Calhoun that the myriad-handed pioneer might well work the Southern aggressor's nemesis, when "the wild West with the roused North" combined.³³ Delaware's bill for the abolition of slavery, discussed in 1846 and 1847, was thrice welcome

To the young nymphs of the golden West
Whose harvest mantles, fringed with prairie bloom,
Trail in the sunset.³⁴

In a letter of March 30, 1847, Whittier urged upon John

P. Hale the Presidential candidacy on the Liberty ticket, saying "the whole West will be shaken by thy nomination."³⁵ Through subsequent months he counseled with Sumner over election prospects. In June, 1848, Sumner became reconciled to Van Buren, but Whittier, still unwilling July 1 to approve the formation of the Free Soil party, withheld his support, "let conscience Whigs and Western Liberty men do as they will."³⁶ By September, however, he decided to accept the party choice. On the same day, in both an editorial and a poem in *The National Era*, *By-gones* and *A Paean*, respectively, he called upon all sections of the nation to join in support of Van Buren.³⁷

Wake, dwellers where the day expires!

And hear, in winds that sweep your lakes

And fan your prairies' roaring fires,

The signal-call that Freedom makes!³⁸

When the treaty with Mexico, meantime, precipitated *The Crisis* in February, 1848, the poet saw pass across "the prairied West,"

Of salt wastes alternating with valleys fat with grain,
the pale land-seekers of 1848 and 1849; and wind-like the Arapahoe swept along the bison's trail.³⁹ On every mountain pass was the Yankee's footprint and on every stream his sail. In the tread the poet sensed the raw material of states or of empire nations yet to be.⁴⁰ In *The Evil Days* of December, 1850, when the slave aggression seemed darkest, Whittier longed, however, for the bleak, bare world, as yet unsought for settlement, — the desert hillside, cavern-rent, the Pawnee's lodge, the prairie free, beneath an open firmament.⁴¹ In that same year he, nevertheless, worked for the coalition between the Free Soilers and the Democrats that resulted in the choice of Charles Sumner as United States senator in April, 1851. "The whole country," Whittier wrote Sumner, "is electrified by it."⁴² In *Moloch in State Street*, May 12, 1851, the poet referred to the election as "the first great triumph won in Freedom's name."⁴³ For the next eighteen months he counseled with Sumner, who was biding his time in the United States senate to speak against the Fugitive Slave Bill.⁴⁴ When spring came late in 1852, he wrote in *April* that all

"dreams of the land of the blest" turned, like the red hunter's "to the sunny southwest."⁴⁵ Before the N. P. Rogers family left Plymouth, New Hampshire, in 1853 to make a new home in the West, Whittier spent a happy week with them, the visit occasioning his poem, *A Memory*, addressed to the daughter, Ellen Rogers, in 1854.⁴⁶

2. KANSAS-NEBRASKA STRUGGLE AND THE CIVIL WAR

I hear the tread of pioneers
Of nations yet to be;
The first low wash of waves, where soon
Shall roll a human sea.

— *On Receiving an Eagle's Quill from
Lake Superior*, stanza 11.

Twenty-six years of intermittent dreaming and thinking of the prairie West, and of working to preserve it all from the incursions of slavery, prepared Whittier well to take up his pen in 1853 in behalf of freedom for a definite portion of the area. For six years thereafter he served the Kansas-Nebraska cause directly by writing in prose and in verse upon the new territories, the immigrants, and the episodes of settlement; and for all eight years of the territorial struggle in Kansas, 1854-1861, he aided indirectly by his extensive writing on the general anti-slavery theme. The general writing included not only the new anti-slavery compositions of those eight years but also the frequent reprintings of earlier anti-slavery poems.

Whittier's first treatment of the Kansas-Nebraska problem as such appeared June 30, 1853. It was a ten-paragraph prose sketch, entitled *The Mauvaises Terres of Nebraska*, in which he wrote of the natural features of the White River valley between the Great Bend of the Missouri and Fort Laramie.⁴⁷ He described the "fine high prairie country, luxuriant with unshorn grasses and gay with uncultured flowers." He characterized the 30 x 90 mile depression, known as the bad lands, as a "savage and irremediable desolation," over which "the curse of sterility broods." Yet in the great masses of rough and ridgy rock rising splintered and abraded, out of this melancholy

tract, he saw fossil remains to challenge geologists. He reported three expeditions of scientists already there in 1853, and he quoted three paragraphs from the report of one un-named geological surveyor.⁴⁸ To complete his picture of the beautiful surrounding territory that in terraced elevations "slowly and gradually uplifts the prairie to the spurs of the Rocky Mountains," the poet quoted, with slight change of tense and word order, eight lines from Longfellow's *Evangeline*. The last paragraph lamented the delay in territorial organization by the late session of Congress, asserting that the delay was but a ruse of the Southern members to enable slave-holders, with their slaves, to obtain a foothold in Nebraska and so turn away the free emigration recoiling as the desert in its midst now repelled the traveller. "It remains to be seen whether the Bad Lands are not significant of the future condition of the whole Territory, blighted and blasted by that 'cleaving curse,' which already burns deep into the soil of one-half of the Union, stolen away from its sisterhood of Freedom, and added to the MAUVAISES TERRES OF SLAVERY." Nothing but a reversal of anti-slavery feeling in the free states, he said, could prevent the spread of slavery north of the line of $36^{\circ} 30'$.

For the next six months, then, his interest in the area subsided save for two favorable book notices of Lucy Larcom's prose poems, *Similitudes from the Ocean and the Prairie*,⁴⁹ but on December 22 he told the Free Democracy of Massachusetts that but half-revealed, vital questions awaiting its utmost exertions, included both the location of the Pacific Railroad and the organization of Nebraska.⁵⁰ The comment was part of a political editorial on the breaking up in Massachusetts of a coalition between the Free Democracy and a portion of the old Democratic Party.

As the year of territorial organization opened, Whittier the poet wrote of cotton as "The Haschish of the West" which made "or fools or knaves" of all who ate it,⁵¹ and in *The Voices* asked, "Why urge the long, unequal fight" when mountain pine looked calmly on fire-scourged plain below.⁵² But his approach to the all too serious problem of the hour was not all ironic.

By March, in *The Occasion and Its Duties*,⁵³ Whittier the editor was himself urging the national revival of anti-slavery feeling through the formation at Washington of a League of Freedom to be the nucleus of a mighty national organization, with the watchwords, —

No Slave Territory

No More Slave States

The General Government relieved from All Responsibility for Slavery

No interference by the General Government with Slavery in the Slave States

No interference with the right of jury trial the writ of habeas corpus, and other guarantees of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, in the free states

Slavery left to itself in the States that cherish it, without any extraneous aid or comfort, to reconcile itself as it best may to the progress of civilization and Christianity, and to the liberal spirit of the Age

There was a North, he argued; the Nebraska mischief had unexpectedly revealed that fact in the unprecedented number of meetings convening all over the free states against the measure. The people were so united in opposing the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the introduction of slavery into the new territory of the West that they would at once take hold of a movement begun at Washington and carry it forward to consummation. The leader whom the occasion would demand must be an embodiment of the idea but his party affiliation was of as small matter as his home, which might be in New England or the Empire State, by the Mississippi or the Colorado.

At the same time, in another prose article, *A Timely Movement*,⁵⁴ Whittier published an appreciative account of the proposal in Worcester, Massachusetts, to form a colony of at least one hundred families of farmers and mechanics to emigrate to southern Nebraska. The call, he said, was from responsible men, prepared to make personal and pecuniary sacrifices to put the plan into effect; the emigrants themselves were to be "in favor of sustaining

the principles of the Gospel and opposed to the extension of Slavery." Whittier's editorial comment was prophetic.

The end is not yet. As in a beleaguered city, when the outer wall is in danger of being overthrown, an inner one is erected, so the breaking down of the Missouri prohibition may only disclose a wall of free hearts drawn around the threatened territory, against which the dark hosts of Slavery shall be broken like waves on a rock.

On April 2, Whittier wrote Robert C. Winthrop, Jr.,⁵⁵ about "the threatened and too probable repeal of the Missouri Compromise," to try to arouse his interest in the new party and to make him its leader.

Permit me to inquire if something cannot be done to avert this great and terrible evil — a broad, generous Northern movement, not confined to the various grounds of party. I know of no one so well able as thyself to take the first step in this movement. . . .

At this crisis I cannot feel or speak as a party man. Would to God that all our old dissensions could be buried and forgotten and that all who love freedom and the good old ways of the fathers could unite for their preservation. I know that I am not alone in looking to thee at this time.⁵⁶

Two weeks later, Whittier, again in prose, again attacked the Nebraska bill. In *A Miracle Needed*⁵⁷ he declared the measure did not work well. The more the troubled waters were oiled by it, the more they were disturbed. Every wind bore an ominous growl of discontent. To Senator Stephen A. Douglas, who could better appreciate the difficulties than any one else but who in spite of a persevering struggle was losing ground, the editor recommended the examples of Emperor Nicholas of Russia and Monsignor Bedini papal envoy to the United States, each of whom had once resorted to the credulity of the people in the supernatural to justify his own conduct. Might not "the honorable and 'reverend Mr. Johnson,'⁵⁸ ex-missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church South and

Delegate from Nebraska" now aid Douglas in his emergency?

Might not the reverend gentleman recollect and certify to the part, that while his Senatorial friend was defining with so much pious unction the duties of the clergy on a late occasion, he, casting his eyes upward to the great dome of the Hall, in a state of ecstatic satisfaction, was favored with a vision of the Apostle of the Gentiles, carrying into execution the old Roman Fugitive Slave Law, and tying Onesimus hand and foot, to give him over to his master, Philemon?

Leaving the suggestion with the honorable senator and his clerical friend, Whittier ceased his criticism of both of them but only temporarily.

On the very day the Kansas-Nebraska bill was becoming a law, May 29, 1854, Whittier was defining his own position on the slavery question anew for the editor of the *Boston Times*, who had that morning misrepresented the poet as counselling resistance to the Fugitive Slave Law. In a letter that had frequent quotation in the contemporary press, Whittier replied that though he looked with horror upon the law in question and deeply sympathized with its victims, he regarded all violence as evil and self-destructive.⁵⁹ "And if my voice could reach my colored friends especially, I would say: Be calm, be patient, God rules, and oppression cannot endure forever."

A few days later, on June 5, when the *Boston Commonwealth* had failed to give adequate public notice to the appointment of Julius Rockwell as United States senator to succeed Edward Everett, Whittier wrote in prose of the especial fitness of the appointee for the position.⁶⁰ Only "a true man — honest, uncompromising, unseduced and unterrified — should take his place by the side of the noble Sumner, . . . whose most eloquent closing speech against the Nebraska perfidy" found an echo in the hearts of all lovers of freedom. He believed Julius Rockwell to be such a man, as proved in his indignant and solemn protest to Congress for Massachusetts against the Texas annexation in the forties.

On June 9, again in the *Commonwealth*, Whittier urged

the calling of a convention of the people of all parties, with delegates from every town in the state to form a new free party of the North for resistance of slavery and protection of freedom.⁶¹ Since Massachusetts must now act for the security of her own imperilled colored citizens, she might well take the first step in this party movement; her sister states of the North and West would surely follow.

The next day, June 10, Whittier enclosed a copy of the *Commonwealth* article in a second letter to Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., again beseeching him seriously to come forward and lead the popular feeling in the safe channel of legal and constitutional action. He still believed Winthrop could do more than any other Northern man to organize the people of the free states, irrespective of party, in opposition to the encroachments of slavery.

I fully believe that the people of New England — the vast majority — are ready to unite in a movement having for its object the restriction of Slavery to the States where it now abides, the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, and the Nebraska perfidy.

. . . That the Free Soil party are ready in good faith to abandon their organization and support Whigs or Democrats who will go for the measure above indicated, I am quite sure. Doubtless we may have erred in many of our movements — much has been said and written which I regret, — but the great body of the anti-slavery party have been honest and true men. Let all that is calculated to irritate and divide the Northern sentiment be forgotten and forgiven; and let the strong and wise men of all parties take counsel together to avert the common danger. The crisis is upon us; we cannot avert it if we would. It must be met, either with the wild violence of excitement; or the calm and deliberate wisdom of law-abiding but liberty-loving men.⁶²

Winthrop, however, did not accede to Whittier's wishes. Nor did Massachusetts act at once. In the weeks that followed, Whittier's disappointment had expression in verse.

“Mother of Freedom! wise and brave,
Rise awful in thy strength,” I said;
Ah me! I spoke but to the dead;
I stood upon her grave!⁶³

At the end of June, Whittier addressed his political plea to the nation. In prose he issued *A Word in Earnest*⁶⁴ to Whigs and Democrats at large to rally about them "a party of Freedom, having for its specific objects the repeal of the execrable Fugitive Slave Law and the Nebraska Bill, and the limitation and denationalization of Slavery." The destiny of the country lay in their hands. The hour had struck. The question was between Liberty and Slavery. They might choose for themselves and posterity. If they had no political leaders capable of rising to the altitude of the occasion and establishing liberty, then they would "leave to the future a darker legacy of evil than one generation . . . ever yet bequeathed to another."

In July Whittier was variously active in the cause. On July 3, in response to an invitation from Ralph Waldo Emerson and others to attend a meeting in Boston to devise a way to bring together men of all political parties opposed to the encroachments of slavery, Whittier wrote that he was more than willing himself "to take the humblest place in a new organization made up from Whigs, anti-Nebraska Democrats, and Free Soilers."⁶⁵ Having already worked for such consolidation and caring nothing for names, he would now ally himself heart and soul with any party that would cut itself loose from slavery and make its paramount object *the protection of Man*.

A few days later, as the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company was gathering its first free-state party to set out for Kansas Territory July 17, Whittier ventured to ask "What security we have that the moral and political power of Kansas will be found on the side of Freedom in the National Councils and in Presidential elections." *Free Slave States*⁶⁶ he called the article which appeared in both the daily and the weekly *National Era*. Although he looked with hopeful interest upon the movement to settle Kansas with free-state men, he lacked confidence in the stability of emigrants who at home had not been wholly reliable. The practice, moreover, of representatives in the already constitutionally free states of California and Iowa in giving their influence and vote in favor of slavery and in thus making of their areas but "free slave states"

L A Y S
OF THE
EMIGRANTS,

AS SUNG

By the Second Party for Kansas,

ON THEIR DEPARTURE FROM BOSTON,

TUESDAY, AUGUST 29th, 1854.

BOSTON,
ALFRED MUDGE & SON, PRINTERS.
1854.

PRINTED FOUR-PAGE LEAFLET, "LAYS OF THE EMIGRANTS, AS SUNG BY THE SECOND PARTY
FOR KANSAS, ON THEIR DEPARTURE FROM BOSTON, AUGUST 29, 1854,"
INCLUDED "THE KANSAS EMIGRANTS" AS SONG NO. 1

No. 1.
THE KANZAS EMIGRANTS.

BY J. G. WHITTIER.

[AIR:—*Auld Lang Syne.*]

We cross the prairie, as of old
The pilgrims crossed the sea,
To make the West, as they the East,
The homestead of the free.

Chorus.—The homestead of the free, my boys,
The homestead of the free,
To make the West, as they the East,
The homestead of the free.

We go to rear a wall of men
On Freedom's Southern line,
And plant beside the cotton tree
The rugged Northern pine!
The rugged northern pine, my boys, &c.

We're flowing from our native hills,
As our free rivers flow;
The blessing of our mother-land
Is on us as we go.
Is on us as we go, my boys, &c.

We go to plant her common schools
On distant prairie swells,
And give the Sabbaths of the wild
The music of her bells.
The music of her bells, my boys, &c.

Upbearing, like the Ark of old,
The Bible in our van,
We go to test the truth of God
Against the fraud of man.
Against the fraud of man, my boys, &c.

No pause, nor rest, save where the streams
That feed the Kansas run,
Save where our pilgrim gonfalon
Shall flout the setting sun!
Shall flout the setting sun, my boys, &c.

We'll sweep the prairie, as of old
Our fathers swept the sea,
And make the West, as they the East,
The homestead of the free!
The homestead of the free, my boys, &c.

No. 2.

SONG OF THE KANZAS EMIGRANTS.

[AIR:—*From Greenland's Icy Mountains.*]

From Eastern hill and valley,
From Ocean's distant shore,
We come with hearts rejoicing,
And on by thousands pour.
'Tis Freedom calls us hither,
For Freedom's sake we roam;
Mid Western wilds, in Freedom's cause,
We'll make our happy home.

In close array advancing,
United hand in hand,
We'll plant our Flag triumphant
On Freedom's Holy Land:
And ne'er shall dark oppression,
Its terror spread around,
No crouching slave shall ever curse
Our consecrated ground.

We'll seek the rolling prairies,
In regions yet unseen,
Or stay our feet unwearied
By Kansas' flowing stream:
And there, with hands unfettered,
Our altars we will raise,
With voices high uplifted,
We'll sing our Maker's praise.

His hand shall still sustain us,
His love our path surround;
His mighty power uphold us
In solitudes profound:
To Him we'll build a temple,
Mid anthems' swelling peal,
And there alone *free labor*,
In humble trust shall kneel.

T. B. H.

led him to question further the practicability of the free-state movement in Kansas.

At the same time, nevertheless, that he was recording this doubt in prose, Whittier was writing a song, *The Kansas Emigrants*, for the encouragement of the persons who were to carry out the undertaking. The poem appeared in *The Daily National Era*, July 21, and again in the weekly issue, July 27, as written "For the National Era." Oddly the poem was printed directly above the article, *Free Slave States*, of such different intent. The prose, however, received no other notice, but the lines of the verse became popular immediately for reprint and song.

We cross the prairie as of old
The pilgrims crossed the sea,
To make the West, as they the East,
The homestead of the free!⁶⁷

Not only was the poem the most quoted through the war years of all Whittier's compositions for the Kansas cause, but it was the most used of all the poems of all writers on the Kansas theme. Through subsequent time it has remained the most loved of all those numerous offerings and is today repeated more often than any other.

During these same weeks Whittier also paid tribute to the English minister who had first interested him in the West.⁶⁸ The eighteen-stanza poem, *William Forster*, appeared in two issues of *The National Era*. To Whittier, for whom "the light of holy lives" shone "like star-beams over doubt," Forster's life had been

The silver dropping of the rain,
The fall of summer dew!

The pathway of duty his reverent steps had marked for the poet, the poem now recommended to the nation.

Methinks the mound which marks thy bed
Might bless our land and save,
As rose, of old, to life the dead
Who touched the prophet's grave!⁶⁹

In the late summer of 1854 Whittier turned his attention again to the slave-holding missionary to Kansas and his political patron in Washington, Stephen A. Douglas.

The criticism this time took the form of satire in verse, purporting, as the title implies, to be a *Letter from a Missionary of the M. E. Church South, in Kansas, to a Distinguished Politician*.⁷⁰ With "Douglas Mission, August, 1854," as date line, the recently returned missionary made humble report to his friend in Washington on affairs about the mission during his absence. The Vigilance Committee at Westport, he wrote, was pleased to hear from him of the pious conduct of administrators at Washington, and, after prayer of half an hour, agreed to watch the river ferry to prevent Yankees crossing into Kansas. During the missionary's absence one obstinate slave had run away from the mission, but Indian converts had treed and shot him. The heathen about, influenced by the mission, were already purchasing negroes and settling down to Christian lives. The letter proper closed with a prayer that Douglas, in his coming visit to Chicago, might find the sweet oil of persuasion on his tongue. Then, in a hasty postscript, added after the Yankee abolitionists had evaded the Vigilance Committee and staked out farm lots on the wooded Wakarusa, the missionary heard a voice from the South warning him to "shake off the dust of Kansas" and "turn to Cuba."

Whittier's information for this *Letter* came no doubt largely from real letters from another missionary to Kansas, Richard Mendenhall, a Quaker stationed at the Friends' Shawnee Mission, close by the Methodist institution. All through the summer of 1854, Richard Mendenhall reported upon territorial affairs for *The National Era*, and especially upon the activities of the rival mission.⁷¹ The letter of May 14, after enumerating Thomas Johnson's sins, ended with the challenge, "Friends of Freedom! Help! If ye ever intend to fight for Liberty, buckle on your armor, for the time is at hand,"⁷² a call that may well have been the inspiration of Whittier's satirical *Letter*.

Part of Whittier's support of the Kansas-Nebraska cause consisted of encouragement he gave other spokesmen for their endeavors. He recognized the publication of Thomas Wentworth Higginson's sermon, *Massachusetts in Mourning*, as a noteworthy sign of the times, "an indica-

tion of the spirit which the recent aggressions of Slavery have waked up in the North."⁷³ After Sumner's speeches in the Senate in the summer of 1854, Whittier in a letter thanked him, in the name of humanity and the Commonwealth, for his noble efforts: "Thy first speech on the Nebraska crime . . . I think . . . the best speech of the session."⁷⁴ Then, a few months later, on November 25, in a forty-one line poem he wrote again,

That, even though silent, I have not the less
Rejoiced to see thy actual life agree
With the large future which I shaped for thee⁷⁵

Whittier also encouraged his personal friends in their views. To Elizabeth Lloyd Howell, to whom on February 4, 1855, he sent a copy of the *Letter from a Missionary of the M. E. Church South, in Kansas, to a Distinguished Politician*, he wrote, "I am glad to see that thy husband (Robert Howell) feels an interest in the freedom of Kansas."⁷⁶ In the same letter he alluded, with a curiosity both naive and natural, to "the novel life" Elizabeth's sister, Hannah Lloyd Neall, was now living much farther west "in the strange land of gold."

When Henry Wilson was elected to the Massachusetts House of Representatives in the spring of 1855, Whittier appraised his qualifications in detail. A basic love of freedom and hatred of oppression had connected Wilson with every anti-slavery movement in Massachusetts for the past ten years.⁷⁷ That long devotion to the cause of human freedom counterbalanced any regret over recent Know-Nothing support.

Four months later the election of James Bell and John P. Hale of New Hampshire to the United States Senate was, like the election of Wilson, a triumph of a cause, not of a party.⁷⁸ It encouraged Whittier to believe the way open and the time now fully come for the free states to organize for the Presidential contest. Again he urged people of all parties to "let bygones be bygones" and unite cordially in a new Party of the People with the watch-word,

No Slave Territory!
No New Slave States!

Repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law!
The General Government permanently
and openly on the side of Freedom!

A party with these principles could alone meet the needs of the time.

Whittier's utterances in behalf of the Kansas-Nebraska cause in 1855 were mostly indirect. The Presidential campaign of 1856 was approaching. In preparation a Boston committee planned a course of lectures on slavery to be given in Tremont Temple during the winter of 1855-1856. Southern statesmen and Northern philanthropists were to present their views alternately.⁷⁹ *The Panorama*, a sixteen page descriptive poem which Whittier wrote to be read at the opening of the course, November 22, 1855, drew contrasting pictures of the North and of the South.⁸⁰ The most attractive sketches of the North were of the region portrayed in 1853 in *The Mauvaises Terres of Nebraska*.⁸¹ There he now visualized thrifty farm homes, free churches, and free labor. Atchison was the "illustrious" leader of the drunken franchise-shifting slaveholders. If men of the North would not see the danger of Missourian lynching beneath their very eyes,

What moral power within your grasp remains
 To stay the mischief on Nebraska's plains?

The Reverend Thomas Starr King, who read the poem at Whittier's request, regarded it as admirably adapted to lecture utterance. He "heard the heartiest encomiums of it," even from men not interested in the anti-slavery cause. The poem was too long for common reprinting. The poet, therefore, persuaded Mr. Fields to publish it at once as a book. It appeared in the spring of 1856 as *The Panorama and Other Poems*.⁸²

In 1856 Whittier's interest in the national campaign continued. In it he saw a cure for the ills of America. Slavery remained the greatest wrong, but new manifestations of it supplied new subject matter. Border war in Kansas and the attack upon Charles Sumner by Preston S. Brooks in the United States Senate, May 23,⁸³ challenged continual thought. Hope of redress in the success of Frémont led, too, to repeated review of the Pathfinder's pow-

ers. Both the letters and the poems of Whittier and his sister Elizabeth linked the subjects together again and again through the year.

The New Exodus,⁸⁴ rejoicing in the reported formal abolishment of slavery in Egypt, seemed prophetic of the poet's hope for a like solution in the United States. Two months later, however, the first poem of the year using Kansas subject matter, *The Burial of Barber*, written "For the National Era," and published in that paper, March 20, 1856, counselled patience. Thomas Barber, a free-state settler from Ohio, had been shot and killed, December 6, 1855, near Lawrence, Kansas, by a pro-slavery man. Whittier's lines pictured the prairie grave on the icy hillside⁸⁵ and, to the grieving widow and friends, gave the assurance that not a tear for Freedom's sake should go unheeded.

That the State whose walls ye lay
In your blood and tears, to-day,
Shall be free from bonds of shame,

.....
And let martyr mound and tree
Be your pledge and guarantee
Of the freedom of the West!⁸⁶

The poem made endurance of political injustice a moral strength. While the flag threatened where it should protect, nothing was left the victim but to wait. "Well to suffer is divine," may have been of necessity acceptable caution to territorial politicians but to the heart-broken widow it could have been but cold comfort.

The assault upon Sumner, May 23, disturbed Whittier more personally. When word came a fortnight later that Sumner would probably recover, Whittier wrote him, "Full of gratitude and joy that thy life has been spared to us and to Freedom," and praised him for the unanswerable logic of his terrible Senate philippic.⁸⁷ He believed it had saved the country and might secure the election of a Free-State president. Moved equally by the outrage on Sumner and by the border atrocities in Kansas, he urged the citizens of Amesbury and Salisbury, June 2, to unite, regardless of party, in defense of common liberties; their business was "with poll-boxes, not cartridge-boxes; with

ballots, not bullets."⁸⁸ When a letter of Lydia Maria Child's, enclosed apparently in an anti-slavery envelope with pictures and mottoes upon it, failed to reach Whittier, he used the phrase, "Border Ruffian official," to designate the administration postmaster who had withheld it.⁸⁹

The Whittiers' admiration for Frémont, the pathfinder, added to their enthusiastic support of Frémont, the politician.⁹⁰ On June 13, Whittier urged Emerson to attend the nominating convention as the most important duty of a lifetime.⁹¹ On July 2, as chairman of a committee on resolutions at a Frémont meeting in Amesbury, representing all the recognized parties of the Free States, Whittier wrote that "in John C. Frémont we have the man of the Hour," with whom the committee pledged itself to unite heartily against "the insolent brutality of the Slave Power" and "the horrible crusade against freedom in Kansas."⁹²

After Charles A. Dana appealed to Whittier June 8, for campaign songs,⁹³ the poet and his sister each responded with lyrics. Elizabeth wrote to Lucy Larcom, June 19, asking for some one to set the present heart-beat of the people to music. "I wish I was somebody — I would do great things now — write songs, first of all."⁹⁴ Sumner's position seemed to her grand and solemn; Frémont's wild ranger life was heroic; "and then, poor Kansas, with the noble men and women doing far more than the old times ever called for, it would be very dark and sad," were it not for the brave young leader in whose very name was the music of freedom.⁹⁵ Into the words of the Whittiers' songs went their sympathy for Sumner, for Frémont, and for Kansas.

The first of these songs, written for the Amesbury ratification meeting, July 2, appeared in print anonymously and simultaneously in *The Villager* and *The National Era*, July 3, 1856, but with different titles; and *The National Era* copy omitted stanzas two and four of *The Villager* form and varied the wording of five lines.⁹⁶ The stanza on Kansas was the same in both versions:

We'll spurn every fetter, we'll break every rod
And Kansas shall bloom like the garden of God

When we plant the white banner of Freedom upon't
And cry, "To the Rescue, free men and Frémont."⁹⁷

The authorship of the poem has heretofore been uncertain, later printings having ascribed it to both Whittier and Elizabeth. Discovery of *The Villager* copy and *The Villager* comments upon the use of it at the Frémont meeting in Amesbury make it seem unquestionably the poem referred to by Elizabeth as the "Quaker song of Greenleaf's . . . sung at our Frémont meeting."⁹⁸

The two titles given the song in the first two simultaneous publications were *Freedom's Song*, in *The Villager*, and *Frémont*, in *The National Era*. The poem was rightly a song of freedom, but it was also a song of Frémont. More strictly was it that, as presented without the original second and fourth stanzas. With repetition of phrases descriptive of Frémont's Western travels, the author stirred hope for his political success for the nation; even the stanza concentrating upon aspirations for Kansas, made rescue of it to freedom dependent upon Frémont.

The second campaign song ascribed to Elizabeth is known to have been written by her, but it also first appeared anonymously and under two different titles. As set to music by Karl Cora, before August 2,⁹⁹ for sheet music publication with Whittier's *We're Free*, it bore the title *Who'll Follow*. In *The National Era* for August 14, it had the title, *Frémont's Ride*.¹⁰⁰ The text made general reference to mountain and prairie that Frémont had explored and it embraced some of the very ideas expressed by Elizabeth in her July note to Moses A. Cartland,¹⁰¹ ideas about the inspiration from heroes of Freedom of older days and the current faith in Frémont as leader, but it made no specific allusions to Kansas.

Who'll follow? Who'll follow?

The bands gather fast;

They who ride with Frémont

Ride in triumph at last!¹⁰²

Who'll Follow was a more poetic title than Frémont's Ride.

Whittier himself wrote five other campaign songs through the summer and fall of 1856; in other poems, too,

excitement of the Presidential contest was at its height, the lines dwelt wholly upon the great moral issue without allusion to politics.

In his Quaker conception of freedom and service, Whittier, the same day, offered the prose counsel of *Friends in Kansas*, to twenty families of his faith now suffering gross outrage and grievous wrong from Southern invaders in the territory.¹⁰⁹ On July 27, the Quaker missionary to Kansas, Richard Mendenhall, had reported the need of close exercise of faith for a man of peace to maintain his principles among the settlers; if one did gain the victory over wrong in his own breast, he found his work but half accomplished, for the people of Kansas generally were preparing for defense and the advocates of peace might at any hour be called upon to seal their testimonies with blood.¹¹⁰ On September 4, then, Whittier made unmistakable declaration of course of conduct for his persecuted Kansas brethren. However much they might sympathize with their free-state neighbors and share in their privations, sacrifices, and dangers, they might not join them in a resort to arms for self-defense.

They can only abide the consequence of a faithful adherence to their principles, and wait patiently for
"The Victory, of Endurance born."

.....
They will thus offer another salutary example of the power and efficacy of passive resistance to evil — the martyr's unresistable might of meekness.

The uncompromising declaration of position for the Friends in Kansas was as a testimony of Whittier's own long practised faith. In writing in 1847 of *Quaker Slaveholding and How It Was Abolished*, he had pointed out that a disciplinary law of the society had for sixty years enjoined a consistent life against the sin and wrong of human bondage and that the generation of that day consequently deserved less credit for its faithfulness to duty than had its predecessors.¹¹¹ Now in 1856, as in 1847, inquiry into the maintenance of the old standards well became the Friends of the day.

For them, as for him, Whittier's re-statement of position was an admonition. A plea to friends of Friends at large

closed the article. Might not they who had hitherto feared to contribute to the general relief fund for Kansas, lest the money be used for military defense, send their pecuniary aid to the brethren now in the territory for judicious distribution? The Friends would no doubt cheerfully undertake the duties of almoners of free will offerings to the Kansas immigrants.

A week later the poet was making political appeal to all the North again. In *A Song of Freedom*, to be sung to "Suoni la Tromba," he warned that the storm was rolling nearer and that a darker morn was ahead if this hour was let go by.¹¹² A picture of Kansas made the appeal of stanza two:

Sound, sound the trumpet fearlessly!
 Each arm its vigor lending,
 Bravely with wrong contending,
 And shouting Freedom's cry!
 The Kansas homes stand cheerlessly,
 The sky with flame is ruddy,
 The prairie turf is bloody
 Where the brave and gentle die.
 Sound the trumpet stern and steady!
 Sound the trumpet strong and high!
 Country and Liberty!
 Freedom and Victory!
 These words shall be our cry,—
 Frémont and Victory!

In the closing stanza he would sound the trumpet even cheerily, for the issue of Right with Wrong was of Heaven's own making.

Eight days after this call to the country at large, Whittier wrote *To Pennsylvania*, reminding that prayer-founded but key-stone state of the great power it held to bless or ban by its choice in the coming election.¹¹³ The wild-wailing west wind from Missouri's flood was bearing across the Alleghanies to her, cries of her own children in the land of pain. And unto her, in Freedom's hour of need God had given the power to ruin or to save with a wilderness or a free home.

In October, however, out of a different theme, the poet was drawing the philosophy with which to accept disap-

pointment. In *A Lay of Olden Time*, composed for the Essex County Agricultural Fair, October 2, he asked, "Why look behind, when hope is all before," and pointed the way to Paradise through toil.¹¹⁴

Likewise, then, on November 10, when election returns revealed defeat instead of victory for Frémont and the North, Whittier inscribed *A Song* of encouragement to the Frémont Clubs, with the recurrent refrain,

If months have well-nigh won the field
What may not four years do?¹¹⁵

New England, New York, the North and the "fair young West" had turned their foreheads to the light; if the clubs would call the battle-roll anew, keep the same old banner and watchword, "Frémont and Victory," triumph would be theirs in 1860.

Meantime, in prose, Whittier had been soliciting "Contributions in aid of the persecuted and suffering people of Kansas" for the canvassing committee of Amesbury and Salisbury.

There are few of our people who cannot spare a small sum at least to save from actual suffering a noble and heroic community, striving to maintain free institutions in the distant prairies of the West. . . . Let each man and woman of our community enquire whether they can, in justice to themselves, refuse to respond to this call. Few can give largely, but all can give something; and whatever is done should be done at once.¹¹⁶

Already the Salisbury side of the river had subscribed \$70.00 and in the Mills District of Amesbury "something has been done but by no means what the occasion demands". By December 9, however, the amount had reached \$408.13, when J. G. Whittier and B. P. Byram, for the committee, gratefully acknowledged "the readiness of the people to respond to the call of the needy and suffering in the new and distant Territory of Kansas" and hoped the sections of the two towns not yet heard from might respond as liberally.¹¹⁷

As 1856 drew to a close, Whittier paused in reflection,

in *The Last Walk in Autumn*.¹¹⁸ The year had been full of activity in behalf of freedom and of free Kansas.

I have not seen, I may not see,
My hopes for man take form in fact,
But God will give the victory
In due time; in that faith I act.

The pause was premonitory, for in 1857 Whittier wrote nothing expressly upon Kansas and but little upon the more general anti-slavery theme. Three conditions account for the lull: following the national election, border ruffian troubles in the Western territory had subsided somewhat; Whittier himself was not well; and the newly-founded *Atlantic Monthly*, to which he began contributing, called for more imaginative treatment than the theme of reform often permitted. The poet's interests and work of 1857 were therefore different. In the fall, even, when his much-admired Sumner and Frémont were in Boston, Whittier's mother's illness prevented his going to see them, although she urged the visit herself and Sumner wrote that he longed for the sound of the poet's voice.¹¹⁹ On October 4, Whittier did remind Massachusetts, in *The Eve of Election*, that "the kingliest act of Freedom is the free-man's vote," but the reading public did not see the poem until January 21, 1858.¹²⁰

The poems written in 1858 were also of the more literary type. The few of them that bore messages of reform made their pleas indirect. The poem, *To George B. Cheever*,¹²¹ in the spring, praised the New York clergyman for smiting with blame the traffickers in men and so smiting with truth a guilty nation's ears. *The Telegraph*, in August, called the Atlantic cable a new Prometheus carrying fire to melt the chains of all nations and to nerve an outworn world with vigor.¹²²

The one poem of the year bearing directly upon Kansas, *Le Marais du Cygne*,¹²³ used the same restraint and the same suggestive style. All the vigor of the Northerner and the rectitude of the Quaker came to Whittier's support, however, as he pictured the murderous attack of some twenty-five border warriors upon twelve unarmed free-state settlers, May 19, 1858, on the banks of

the Marais du Cygne, near Choteau's Trading Post on the military road to Fort Scott. Of the twelve bound, led to the ravine called by Whittier "The Swan's Marsh," lined up, and fired upon at close range, five were killed, six were wounded, and one feigning death escaped unharmed. Whittier's poem is a series of brief, vivid pictures of the scene of murder, now tainted and foul; of the simple hearths and fields from which the victims were torn; of the manliness with which the stout-kneed looked right into the mouths of the rifles; of the desolate children and wives, innocently awaiting their men's return; of the dreary death-train winding homeward with lips pressed as bloodless as the lips of the slain. The counsel offered those wronged folk of the prairie was the counsel given the Friends in Kansas two years before.¹²⁴

Let tears quench the curses,
That burn through your prayers.

Through endurance and forbearance lay the path to victory. Out of death came life in God's harvest; out of the blood-nourished reeds of the Swan's Marsh would bloom

Free homes and free altars
And fields of ripe food.
On the lintels of Kansas
That blood shall not dry;
Henceforth the Bad Angel
Shall harmless go by;
Henceforth to the sunset,
Unchecked on her way,
Shall Liberty follow
The march of the day.

The poem as preserved is a consistent plea for passive resistance. The assurance of liberty, however, seems rather the word of a prophet of old than of the poet of the day. Whittier tells us, nevertheless, that he had considerable trouble to restrain himself to the philosophy of meekness in writing the poem. "I have had hard work to keep down my indignation," he wrote his editor. "I feel a good deal more like a wild Berserker than like a carpet minstrel, 'with his singing robes about him,' when recording atrocities like that of the Swan's Marsh."¹²⁵ He liked the poem

for its sweep and rhythm, but it was for the theme that he asked for a proof-sheet to send to Charles Sumner in advance of publication.

Early in 1859, Whittier wrote that the poet had small choice of subject for song.

Fate holds and guides the hands of Art,
And lips must answer to the heart.

In shadow now, and now in sun,
As runs the life, the song must run.¹²⁶

Whittier's life brought various themes to his songs of 1859, but freedom was a burden or a hope of most of them. The path of life, as strange today as in the time of the Hebrews, still needed the guiding shadow of *The Rock in El Ghor*.¹²⁷ *The Prophecy of Samuel Sewall* glorified the old Puritan judge who outran the halting step of his age by refusing to "brand his brother a slave."¹²⁸ The Red River *Voyageur*, set in northeastern Nebraska territory and Manitoba, likened our mortal journey to the course of the river

Through belts of dusky pine-land
And gusty leagues of plain,

past

The smoke of the hunting-lodges
Of the wild Assiniboins!¹²⁹

While Rome's great altar smoked with gums to sweeten the passage of foul King Bomba of Naples into heaven, the tearful prayers of pallid toiler and negro chattel went up from all the dark by-places of Edgbaston, England, in *In Remembrance of Joseph Sturge*.¹³⁰ Although the angles of strife were rounding out and smiting hands were learning to heal, *My Psalm* assured that manly deed and word should still rebuke wrong.¹³¹ From exiled hearts in sunny South and prairied West now, too, came echoes of New England song.¹³² Whittier had also gained a good idea of the "Western home and mode of life" of Hannah Lloyd Neall.¹³³ *On a Prayer-Book* visualized a free church in which the Consoler would fold together "the dark hands and the white . . . breaking every chain."¹³⁴ *Lines for a Village Festival* thanked heaven that Freedom's arm could

change a rocky soil to gold.¹³⁵ When Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote from Italy of the people's breaking with the Pope because of his sympathy with the "slaughters of Perugia," Whittier answered satirically in *Rome — 1859*:

Ay, the wolf's with the sheep, and the fox with the fowl,
When freedom we trust to crosier and cowl!

.....
So bless us the strong hand, and curse us the weak.¹³⁶

The varied viewpoints of the poems were preparation for the treatment of the insurrection of Harper's Ferry in October. The seizure of the armory occurred October 16; by October 19, John Brown, severely wounded, was a prisoner in the Charleston jail, where Lydia Maria Child visited him. Whittier's first comment upon the event was a letter to Mrs. Child, October 21, in response to a line from her about the visit and a request for Whittier to write upon Brown.¹³⁷

He referred to Brown at once as "brave but, methinks, sadly misguided." He also characterized him as "a noble-hearted, self-sacrificing old man," but, as friends of peace and believers in the Sermon on the Mount, he and his sister dared "not lend any countenance" to such an attempt as the invasion at Harper's Ferry. One of Brown's pikes, sent by a friend in Baltimore, looked too much like murder to be a Christian weapon. Though Whittier agreed with Mrs. Child in believing they should judge Brown by *his* own standards, he felt the situation a severe test of the principles of non-resistance and hoped they might not give the lie to their life-long profession. Being true to their convictions was a duty they owed to humanity. To write just now was, therefore, impossible for the poet. His heart was too heavy and sorrowful. He could "only wait, with the fervent prayer that the cause we love may receive no detriment."

Ill in body himself and physically unable for weeks to write beyond a mere note, Whittier told Elizabeth Lloyd on November 6 that the sad affair of Harper's Ferry had pained and troubled him exceedingly. The time had come, he said, for all to pause and enquire with what feelings and motives they had acted in the great controversy between Freedom and Slavery.

Who ever fans the flames on either side from mere selfishness and for party ends assumes a fearful responsibility. I made several attempts last week to write out my thoughts on the subject, but was compelled to give over from sheer inability to exert mind or body. It seemed to me that nobody said precisely the right thing, and that I could and must say it.¹³⁸

Later in November Whittier reiterated his position at length in *The Lesson of the Day* and counseled both the North and the South freely on their future conduct.¹³⁹ The painful intelligence of the tragic events at Harper's Ferry, he said again, had affected him, in common with every right-minded man, with profound sorrow and regret. Sternly and emphatically he condemned the attempt to promote the good of freedom by the evil of servile strife and civil war though he pitied deeply the misguided actors.

Admitting that the majority of professing Christians did not share his sentiment of non-resistance, he reviewed the wide acceptance of the doctrine of the justifiability of bloodshed in defense of life and liberty and wondered that revolt was not therefore "the normal condition of States embracing . . . the extremes of liberty and slavery." History revealed that in all ages of the world slavery had within itself the elements of perpetual unrest and needed no incentive to insurrection from without. The North could not afford to engage in violence and conspiracy which were the expedients of weakness and error, not truth and justice. The South should see that the aggressions of its slave power upon Northern rights had furnished the hint and excuse for the filibustering of Brown of Harper's Ferry.

The Repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the armed invasion of Kansas by Missouri slaveholders with the avowed purpose of introducing slavery by force of arms into a free territory, was a dangerous example to such men as Brown and his followers. . . . The slave States . . . must abandon all attempts to extend slavery. They must not repeat the atrocity of seeking, as in Kansas, to force with bayonet and bowie knife the detestable wrong upon a free community. . . .

(To be continued)

NOTES

1 William Forster, an itinerant minister of Norwich, England, toured the United States three times to present the views of the Friends society, on the evils of Slavery. In 1820 he went into Indiana; in 1845, into Iowa; and in 1854, into East Tennessee, where he died in January. — John Greenleaf Whittier. *William Forster*; note beneath title. *Writings*. Riverside edition. 7 volumes. (Houghton, Mifflin and Company. 1889.) Vol. IV, p. 88. Also, Samuel T. Pickard. *Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier*. 2 volumes. (Houghton, Mifflin and Company. 1895.) Vol. I, p. 37. Whittier's poem appeared in *The National Era*, Washington, D. C., July 17 and 20, 1854.

2 John G. Whittier. *The Pawnee Brave*. Frances Mary Pray. *A Study of Whittier's Apprenticeship as a Poet*. (Pennsylvania State College. 1930.) pp. 156-158.

3 John Greenleaf Whittier. *The Rescue*. Clipping from the *Kansas City Star*, without date. (Kansas Scrap Book W. Library, Kansas State Historical Society. Topeka. Vol. III, p. 277.)

4 *The Rescue*, ll. 65-75.

5 George Rice Carpenter. *John Greenleaf Whittier*. *American Men of Letters*. (Houghton, Mifflin and Company. 1903.) pp. 67-69.

6 William Lyon Phelps. *A Noteworthy Letter of Whittier's*. *The Century Magazine*. May, 1902. Vol. 64, pp. 15-17.

7 Pickard. *op. cit.* Vol. 1, pp. 99-103.

8 Whittier. *Justice and Expediency*. *Writings*. Vol. VII, p. 54.

9 Whittier. *The Abolitionists*. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

10 Pickard. *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 286.

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 283-292. In 1840 and 1844 Whittier supported James G. Birney for the Presidency on the Liberty ticket. He worked for the coalition with the Democrats that elected Robert Rantoul to Congress from South Essex in 1842. He let himself be the Congressional nominee of the Liberty party from North Essex through 1842 and 1843, to prevent an election of either the Whig or the Democratic candidate, from neither of whom he could secure anti-slavery pledges. In urging the Reverend John Pierpont to run for Congress in 1842 on the Liberty ticket, Whittier hoped to make available to the party the popularity the clergyman had won in his

Boston pulpit for anti-slavery reform; but when Mr. Pierpont declined the nomination, saying that freedom of the pulpit must be prior in time to the freedom of the slave, Whittier, in satirical verse, turned to the aid of clergymen generally in "Lines on Reading Several Pamphlets published by Clergymen against the Abolition of the Gallows," printed in the *Democratic Review*, Washington, D. C. October, 1842. In 1843 he got Governor Marcus Morton of Massachusetts to recommend the abolition of capital punishment. At the same time Whittier was aiding 62,791 of his fellow citizens in Massachusetts to petition the legislature for laws and constitutional amendments that would relieve the state from participation in such crime of oppression as had occurred in the seizure, without warrant, in Boston in 1842, of George Latimer, an alleged fugitive slave, by James B. Grey of Norfolk, Virginia. For one of the conventions to be held simultaneously in each county, January 2, 1843, — the convention in Essex —, Whittier wrote *Massachusetts to Virginia*, published in *The Liberator*, January 27, 1843.

Also, Thomas Franklin Currier, ed. *Elizabeth Lloyd and the Whittiers, a budget of letters*. (Harvard University Press. 1939.) pp. 18-20. On August 14, 1840, Whittier wrote Elizabeth Lloyd that annoying remarks of "some Orthodox Friends" about his association with the Hicksites, in the anti-slavery society, had made him self-conscious; and, laboring under the impression that the cause of emancipation found no favor in her eyes, he had been slow to become acquainted with her. "I really felt unsafe with *all* — I seemed to stand alone — without sympathy, save among the 'Heretics.' I felt, too, that I was looked upon with suspicion." This feeling seems not to have deterred his efforts, however, in the least, for earlier in the same letter he said that the cause of the slave to which he had already devoted eight years of his life, still demanded all the time and talent he could bestow. "My relish for poetry is as strong as ever — but the pleasure of composition has in a great degree ceased. It has become all taskwork."

12 *Writings*. Vol. III, pp. 49-50, 58-63, and 63-69.

13 Pickard. *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 215. In the autumn of 1837 Whittier went to Philadelphia to assist Benjamin Lundy in editing *The National Enquirer*. When Lundy, who was worn out, retired in March, 1838, the name of the paper was changed to *The Pennsylvania Freeman*, and Whittier assumed the editorship, which he held until February, 1840. Lundy died October 22, 1839. Cf. also, Charles Arthur Hawley.

Whittier and Iowa. The Iowa Journal of History and Politics. Vol. 34, p. 120.

14 *The New Year*, stanza 32. *Writings.* Vol. III, pp. 63-69.

Whittier's letter to Elizabeth Lloyd, August 22, 1842, as transcribed in *Whittier's Unknown Romance*, Letters to Elizabeth Lloyd, with an introduction by Marie V. Denervaud (Houghton Mufflin. 1922), p. 8, would also seem to carry an allusion to the West in the phrase, "A Western young lady of much intelligence." The transcription in Currier's *Elizabeth Lloyd and the Whittiers*, pp. 105-107, however, makes this phrasing "A Boston young lady of much intelligence."

15 *Channing.* *Writings.* Vol. IV, pp. 42-45.

16 *Writings.* Vol. III, pp. 89-94.

17 *Texas and To Massachusetts.* *Writings.* Vol. III, pp. 94-98 and 100-101.

18 *The National Era*, Washington, D. C. November 11, 1847. Also *Writings.* Vol. VII, pp. 280-283, with date of 1844.

19 Pickard. *op cit.*, Vol. I, p. 307. Also Carpenter. *op. cit.*, p. 175.

20 *At Washington.* *Writings.* Vol. III, pp. 106-111. Also, Pickard. *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 328. Whittier and Henry Wilson had gone to Washington as delegates of a Liberty party convention to carry to Congress a petition containing 60,000 names against the annexation of Texas. A visit to a slave prison in the city was the immediate occasion of the poem. Also, Hawley, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-126. Mr. Hawley believes that Whittier at this time conceived of building in the unspoiled West, a Utopia, a place of freedom, and supposed that he considered Salem, Iowa, as site.

21 *At Washington*, stanza 17.

22 Pickard. *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 301-307. Also Thomas Franklin Currier. *A Bibliography of John Greenleaf Whittier.* (Harvard University Press. 1937.) pp. 469-483. From July 25, 1844, to March 13, 1845, Whittier edited the *Middlesex Standard*, an anti-slavery and Liberty party organ, of Lowell, Massachusetts. In March and April, 1844, and from June, 1845, through December, 1846, he edited the *Essex Transcript* at Amesbury and Salisbury, characterizing the weekly paper as "weakly," and himself as "an active politician of the Liberty stamp." In 1847, when *The National Era* came into being in Washington under the auspices of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, with Gamaliel Bailey as editor, Whittier became the contributing editor.

23 Pickard. *op. cit.* Vol. I, pp. 77 and 308. The Sumner address was generally unpopular at the time because war between the United States and Mexico was then imminent.

24 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 311-312. Also, *A Letter*, supposed to be written by the chairman of the "Central Clique" at Concord, N. H., to the Hon. M. N. Jr., at Washington, giving the result of the election. *Writings*. Vol. III, pp. 117-122.

25 Pickard. *op. cit.*, Vol. I. p. 312.

26 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 316. Also, *Writings*. Vol. III, pp. 102-104.

27 *The National Era*, June 3, 1847.

28 *Ibid.* September 16, 1847.

29 *The New England Offering* was edited by Harriet Farley, who had been editor of *The Lowell Offering* in Lowell, Massachusetts, and had there introduced Whittier to Lucy Larcom and her poetry in 1844.

30 Lucy Larcom had migrated to Illinois with her sister Emilie and Emilie's husband in the spring of 1846 and settled thirty or forty miles east of St. Louis. Lucy named the prairie "Looking-Glass Prairie." — Lucy Larcom. *A New England Girlhood*, outlined from Memory. (Houghton, Mifflin. 1889.) pp. 260-263.

31 *The National Era*, September 23, 1847.

32 Pickard. *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 314.

33 *Writings*. Vol. III, pp. 104-105. Whittier indicates the date of this poem as 1846. Currier, *op. cit.*, p. 359, gives no date of composition, but notes the first publication as in *The National Era*, January 27, 1848, with the title, *To John C. Calhoun*. The note, signed "J. G. W.," and printed after the poem in *The National Era*, indicates the date of composition was later than 1846.

34 *To Delaware*. *Writings*. Vol. III, pp. 127-128.

35 Pickard. *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 319-321.

36 *Ibid.*, pp. 332-334.

37 *The National Era*, September 7, 1848.

38 *A Pæan*. *Ibid.*

39 *Our State and The Crisis*. *Writings*. Vol. III, pp. 333-334 and 148-152.

40 *On Receiving an Eagle's Quill from Lake Superior*. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 21-24.

41 *Ibid.* Vol. III, pp. 163-165.

42 Pickard. *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 351-358.

43 *Writings*. Vol. III, pp. 165-168.

44 Pickard. *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 363-366.

45 *Writings*. Vol. II, pp. 24-25.

46 *The National Era*, January 28, 1854. Also, Pickard, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 378. N. P. Rogers was an anti-slavery worker and long-time friend of Whittier's. Rogers himself died in 1847. Whittier's prose tribute to his memory appeared in *The National Era*, October 21, 1847.

47 J.G.W. "*The Mauvaises Terres of Nebraska.*" *The National Era*, June 30, 1853.

48 This surveyor was J. Evans. *Incidental Observation of the Upper Missouri River, and Description of the Geological Formation of the Mauvaises Terres of Nebraska Territory.* A report of May, 1849, to David Dale Owen, United States Geologist, in David Dale Owen's *Report of Geological Survey of Wisconsin, Iowa and Minnesota.* (Lippincott, Gambo & Co., 1852.) pp. 196-208.

49 J.G.W. *The National Era*, September 29 and December 22, 1853.

50 J.G.W. *Massachusetts. The National Era* (weekly edition), December 22, 1853.

51 *The Haschish. Writings*, Vol. III, pp. 173-175.

52 *Ibid.*, pp. 345-348.

53 J.G.W. *The National Era*, March 30, 1854, and (weekly ed.), April 6, 1854.

54 *The Daily National Era.* March 30, 1854.

55 Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., was the Whig candidate whom Sumner defeated for the Senate in 1850.

56 John G. Whittier. *Letter*, "Amesbury 4th 2nd Mo. 1854," to "Dear Friend." (Manuscript in Massachusetts Historical Society.) Albert Mordell *Quaker Militant: John Greenleaf Whittier.* (Houghton Mifflin Company. 1933.) p. 165.

57 J. G. W. *The National Era*, April 15, 1854, and (weekly edition), April 27, 1854.

58 The "reverend Mr. Johnson" was the Reverend Thomas Johnson, missionary to the Shawnee Indians and superintendent of the Shawnee Mission Manual Labor School, 1830-1841 and 1847-1862. He was nominated as a territorial delegate to Congress at Kickapoo, September 20, 1853, and declared elected November 8. Mr. Johnson owned and worked slaves. — Martha B. Caldwell. *Annals of the Shawnee Methodist Mission.* (Kansas State Historical Society. Topeka. 1939.) pp. 8-86. Also, P. Orman Ray. *The Repeal of the Missouri Compromise.* (Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland. 1909.) p. 148.

59 Reprint in *The National Era*, June 1, 1854. Also,

The Daily Transcript, Worcester, Massachusetts, June 2, 1854.

60 *The Daily National Era*, June 9, 1854. Also, Boston *Daily Commonwealth*, June 8, 1854.

61 Boston *Daily Commonwealth*, June 9, 1854.

62 John G. Whittier. *Letter*, "Amesbury 10th 6th Mo. 1854" to "My dear Friend." Mordell. *op. cit.*, pp. 166-167.

63 *Ichabod*. *The National Era*, July 29, 1854, and (weekly ed.), August 3, 1854. Also, *Writings*. Vol. III, pp. 170-171 (with title, *The Rendition*).

64 *The National Era*, June 28, 1854, and (weekly ed.), June 29, 1854.

65 John G. Whittier. *Letter*, "Amesbury, 3d 7th mo." to Emerson: excerpt. Pickard. *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 373-374. To Emerson Whittier also now recommended Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., as holding in his hands the destiny of the North. As early as 1852, however, Emerson had recognized Winthrop as an enemy of liberty and on March 7, 1854, in a lecture in New York, he had publicly denounced him as such. Mordell, *op. cit.*, p. 167, footnote, refers to Emerson's published statements in *Miscellanies*, pp. 242-243, and *Journals*, Vol. VIII, pp. 307-310.

66 *The National Era*, July 11, 1854, and (weekly ed.), July 27, 1854.

67 *The Kansas Emigrants*, st. 1. *The National Era*, July 21, 1854, and (weekly ed.), July 27, 1854.

68 Cf. pp. 309 and 312-313 *supra*.

69 William Forster, stanzas 13, 11.3-4, and 18. *The National Era*, July 17, 1854, and (weekly edition), July 20, 1854.

70 *The National Era* (weekly ed.), October 5, 1854.

71 *The National Era*, June 8 and 29, and September 14, 1854.

72 *The National Era* (weekly edition), June 8, 1854.

73 *Ibid.* (weekly edition), August 3, 1854.

74 Letter to Sumner, quoted in Pickard, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 369-370.

75 J.G.W. To C. S. *The National Era* (weekly edition), December 7, 1854.

76 J. G. Whittier. *Letter*, "Amesbury, 4, 2 mo. (1855)." *Whittier's Unknown Romance: Letters to Elizabeth Lloyd*. p. 14.

77 J.G.W. Henry Wilson. *The National Era*, February 8, 1855.

78 *The National Era*, June 21, 1855.

79 Pickard. *op cit.*, Vol. I p. 375.

80 John Greenleaf Whittier. *The Panorama. Poetical Works*, two vols. (Fields, Osgood & Co., 1870), Vol. II, pp. 3-19.

81 Cf. pp. 316-317, *supra*.

82 Pickard. *op cit.*, Vol. I, p. 376.

83 For his Northern views, voiced in debate on the anti-slavery question, Charles Sumner was struck down in the United States Senate by Preston S. Brooks of South Carolina, May 23, 1856, and injured seriously.

84 *The National Era*, January 10, 1856. The copy of the poem in the Riverside edition, *Writings*, Vol. III, p. 348, has a prefatory note saying that "unhappily, the professions and pledges of the vacillating government of Egypt proved unreliable."

85 Barber's funeral was held in the Free State Hotel, on the site of the present Eldridge House, and the body was buried in the cemetery west of Lawrence, now known as "The Pioneer Cemetery."

86 Excerpts from stanzas 11 and 12 of *The Burial of Barber*.

87 Pickard, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 380-381.

88 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 382-383.

89 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 389. During the time of the Kansas troubles, the term "border ruffian" was applied to the party in power.

90 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 383-387.

91 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 383.

92 *The Villager*, Amesbury and Salisbury Mills, July 10, 1856. (Typescript used).

93 Pickard. *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 384-385.

94 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 384.

95 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 387.

96 *The National Era*, July 3, 1856, and *The Villager* (typescript used), July 3, 1856.

97 The last line of this stanza in *The Villager* copy read, "And cry, 'To the Rescue, Free men and Freemont.'"

98 Pickard. *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 387.

99 Thomas Franklin Currier. *Bibliography of John Greenleaf Whittier*. pp. 381 and 584-585.

100 *The National Era*, August 14, 1856.

101 Pickard *Life and Letters*, Vol. I. pp. 386-387.

102 Chorus, used at end of each stanza.

103 *The National Era*, June 5, 1856.

104 *Ibid.*, July 17, 1856. The copy in *Writings*, Vol. III, p. 187, substitutes in stanza five, line one "cone" for "comb," and line four, "throne" for "home."

105 Currier. *loc. cit.*

106 *The National Era*, August 14, 1856. Also, Pickard. *Whittier-Land*, pp. 150-151.

107 Pickard. *Life and Letters*, Vol. I, pp. 382-383. Both uses of the phrase in the letter were in the following form, "Forget, forgive and UNITE."

108 *The National Era*, September 4, 1856. A poem of twenty-nine lines, without title, and with "J.G.W." as signature. When included in the collected works, this poem bore the title, *What of the Day?*

109 *The National Era*, September 4, 1856.

110 *Ibid.* Letter of Richard Mendenhall, July 27, quoted from *Friends' Review*, (Philadelphia, August 23, 1856.)

111 *The National Era*, April 8, 15 and 22, 1847.

112 John Greenleaf Whittier. *Complete Poetical Works*, Cambridge edition. (Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1894), p. 512. The poem, as printed here in the Appendix, bears the title, *A Fremont Campaign Song*.

113 *The National Era*, September 25, 1856.

114 *The National Era*, November 6, 1856.

115 *Ibid.*, November 20, 1856.

116 "J.G.W." *Aid for Kansas. The Villager*, October 23, 1856. (Typescript used.)

117 J. G. Whittier and B. P. Byram. *Report of the Committee on the Kansas Aid Fund. The Villager*, December 11, 1856. (Typescript used.)

118 *The National Era*, January 1, 1857.

119 Pickard. *Life and Letters*, Vol. II, pp. 412-413.

120 *The National Era*, January 21, 1858.

121 *Ibid.*, April 1, 1858. George B. Cheever was minister to the Church of the Pilgrims, New York.

122 *The Atlantic Monthly*, October, 1858. The poem was submitted, August 9, under the title, *The Great Wire*. On August 10, Whittier sent a revision of stanza nine and two additional stanzas, embodying the theme cited above. In including the poem in *The Tent on the Beach, and Other Poems*, 1867, he gave it without any title at all. In *Writings*, Vol. IV, p. 269, it became *The Cable Hymn*.

123 *Ibid.*, September, 1858.

124 Cf. pp. 331-332, *supra*.

125 *Letter*, July 5, 1858, to Francis H. Underwood. Pickard. *Life and Letters*, Vol. II, p. 417.

126 J.G.W. "You ask a merrier strain of me, . . ." Boston *Evening Transcript*, February 5, 1859.

127 *The National Era*, January 6, 1859.

128 *Littell's Living Age*, January 29, 1859. (From *The Independent*, New York, January 6, 1859.)

129 New York *Daily Tribune*, January 21, 1859. (From *The Independent*, January 20, 1859.) Also, Pickard, *op. cit.*, pp. 420-421.

130 *Littell's Living Age*, August 13, 1859. (From *The Independent*, July 21 and 28, 1859.)

131 *The Atlantic Monthly*, August, 1859. Vol. IV, p. 230.

132 *Kenoza Lake. Writings*. Vol. IV, pp. 161-163.

133 J.G.W. *Letter*, "Amesbury, 22nd, 8th mo, 1859," to "Dear Elizabeth." *Whittier's Unknown Romance: Letters to Elizabeth Lloyd*. pp. 43-44. Also cf. p. 325, *supra*.

134 *The Liberator*, September 23, 1859. (From *The Independent*, September 15, 1859.)

135 *The National Era*, September 29, 1859. Also, *Writings*. Vol. IV, pp. 164-165 (with title, *For an Autumn Festival*).

136 *The Liberator*, November 11, 1859. (From *The Independent*, October 27, 1859.)

137 *Letter*, October 21, 1859, to "My dear Friend,—" [Mrs. Lydia M. Child]. Thomas Wentworth Higginson. *John Greenleaf Whittier*. English Men of Letters. (Macmillan, 1902). pp. 78-79.

138 John G. Whittier. *Letter*, "Amesbury, 6th, 11th mo., 1859" to "Dear Elizabeth." *Whittier's Unknown Romance: Letters to Elizabeth Lloyd*. pp. 49-50.

139 *The Villager*, November 17, 1859. (Typescript used.)

JOURNAL OF WILLIAM WAIT OLIVER OF
SALEM, 1802-1803.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN POSSESSION OF
THE ESSEX INSTITUTE

(Continued from Volume LXXXI, page 256)

Monday, 28. Rose at 6. Wind S. W. Cool & pleasant. before breakfast, walk'd alone to the Crowninshield wharf and up Essex Street. Colo. Lee administered to me the Oath of Deput Collr. Edward went home in the Newburypt. stage, at 11 O'clock. Eveng home at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 & then to see Sara. At 9 O'clock. began to rain & blow. Home & to bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10. Wind N. E. Rained snowed & blowed very heavy in the night.

Tuesday, Mar. 1. Rose at 6. Wind N. W. made a fire in my chamber. Read the 14th book of Homer's Odyssey. Mr Joseph Perkins, a worthy member of society, departed this life. Before noon, wind N. W. & cold. Rain, snow & fair weather, alternately. Administer'd an oath to Capt. Simon Forrester, being the first time. Spent the evening at home in my chamber reading Homer's Odyssey, and examining Jones's English system of book keeping, much pleased with it, particularly the simplicity of the Day book. To bed at 10. Very cold & windy. Wind N. W. at 12 O'clock. got out of bed to see my fire, which burnt very brisk.

Wednesday, 2. Rose at 6. Wind N. W. very windy and cold. Ther. at sunrise at 4 above. Sun all day. After dinner, went over to Castle hill in company with Daniel M—g, returned home & stopped to see Sara a few moments. Spent the eveng at Mrs Gardner's home & to bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11.

Thursday, 3. Rose at 6. Wind S. W. moderate & pleasant. Sally spent the day at our house. Towards night, felt quite melancholy but of a pleasing kind, such melancholy as tends to soften the affections and better the heart—Sara spent the evening at our house—at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 9, went home with my sister and $\frac{1}{4}$ before 10 with the object of my affections, with whom I spent upwards of an hour in the most agreeable, tender conversation—home and to

bed at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 10. Slept indifferently. J. P. busied.

Friday, 4. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5. Walk'd to Pool's. rather cool—Wind S. After the sun rose, warm and pleasant—spent an hour with Sara, in the morning and an hour after dinner—read to her the History of Amelia Sanford written by herself. Spent the evening at home, very agreeable in company with Mrs Thayer and Sara. Read several detached pieces of Freneau's Poetical Works. President Jefferson's appointment to the Presidency of the U. S. celebrated by a large company at Osgood's. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 went home with Sara. returned at 10 and to bed directly.

Saturday, Mar. 5. Rose at 6. Wind N. W. and cold. Spent the morning at home reading Mavor's Voyages. Afternoon, spent at home reading Mavor's collection. Eveng. at Mr O's. store. At my parents & to see Sara—home at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9. To bed at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 10.

Sunday, 6. Rose at 7. Wind N. W. & very cold but pleasant. Made a fire in my chamber before breakfast. read several chapters in the New testament & a few in the Old—to meeting in the forenoon—Doctor Barnard gave an excellent Moral Discourse from Proverbs 8:28—At noon, Hubbard came from Boston—dined at our house and in the afternoon, I walked to Lynn with him thro' the turnpike to see Gamaliel—got there $\frac{1}{4}$ before 4 & parted with them for home at 12 minutes past 4—got home 3 minutes before 6 being 1 hour & 45 minutes, coming from Gamaliel's. Came over Lynn common and across the Great Pasture. Very disagreeable travelling in the pastures. my shoes were completely glazed over with Ice & I had two or three falls, & came very near having a dozen. After I got home, had some hot coffee, warm'd my feet, read a chapter in the Apocrapha, and went to see Sara, spent an agreeable evening—home & to bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11.

Monday, 7. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6. Wind N. W. & cold. Spent the morning reading and writing. Very pleasant. Wholesome air. Spent the evening with Sara. Home and to bed at 10 O'clock.

Tuesday, 8. Rose at 6. Wind N. W. pleasant & cold. Spent the eveng at Mrs Gardner's—to bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11.

Wed. 9. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6. Wind W. pleasant & cold. Spent the eveng. at home in my chamber, reading Plu-

tarch's Lives. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9, went over to see my parents, & at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10, with John Moody & Daniel Manning, started for Phillips point; went up round the mill pond, thro' the great pasture & out by Medcalf's into the road, over Legges Hill, thro' the fields, round the shore beyond Phillips' house. Found the sea very boisterous—traversed the beach an hour, and returned home thro' Marblehead road—got home & to bed at $\frac{1}{4}$ before 2 O'clock. Quite weary. Very cold.

Thursday, Mar. 10. Rose at 6. Wind N. W. cold and pleasant. Noon wind S. W. drank coffee at Mrs Gardner's, with my Sister Sally and Jenny Thayer. Home at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9. Weary. To bed at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 10. Slept sound.

Friday, 11. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6. Wind S. W. very pleasant and warm. Spent the evening at home. Sara at our house—home with her at 10 O'clock. staid till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11. To bed at $\frac{1}{4}$ before 12. Slept soundly.

Saturday, 12. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6. Wind S. W. Warm & pleasant. Spent the afternoon at home, putting up my books, papers &c.—towards night, overcast & like foul weather. Spent the evening at home in my chamber, reading. To bed at 10.

Sunday, 13. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6. Wind S. E. overcast, disagreeable weather. To meeting forenoon. Afternoon, at home in my chamber. Read two antient sermons. 1 proving the existence of a God, & 1 upon practical Atheism. Very good, in my opinion. At 6 O'clock. went to my Mother's. At 7 to Mrs Gardners. at 8 to see Mrs Upton with Sara—at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 returned to Mrs G's $\frac{1}{4}$ before 12 at home & to bed.

Monday, 14. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6. Wind S. E. overcast & light rain. Town meeting. Republican Selectmen chosen by a majority of about thirty. Spent the evening at home in my chamber, reading Plutarch's Lives & Gondibert, a Heroic Poem, writing 150 years since. John Moody spent the evening with me & slept with me. To bed at $\frac{1}{4}$ before 11.

Tuesday, 15. Rose at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 6. Wind S. overcast, disagreeable forenoon. Noon Wind S. W. very warm & pleasant. Mrs Peabody, wife of Samuel Peabody departed this life. She was a lady of gentle, pleasing man-

ners. Sick 4 days, with a putrid bilious Fever. Spent the eveng with Sara—To bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 O'clock.

Wednesday, 16. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6. Wind S. W. & warm. Attended Mrs Peabody's funeral, buried in the new burying ground. Mr Morgan spent the eveng with me and slept with me. To bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9.

Thursday, 17. Rose at 6. Wind N. E. & Rain. At 4 O'clock. AM rained very hard accompanied with Thunder and Lightning. After breakfast went down with Mr Morgan. Spent the eveng at home in my chamber. Mr Parker & wife spent an hour with me. Read Plutarch's Lives. To bed at 10.

Friday, 18. Rose at 6. Wind W. warm & pleasant. Spent the evening with Sara. home & to bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11.

Saturday, 19. Rose at 6. Wind N. to S. & S. E. Went down to see Mr Cross before breakfast. Noon, went to the Library. Returned 10 & 11 vols. Mavor's Voyages. 6 Vol. A. Museum & Brydone's Tour in Sicily & Malta. Took out, Mackinsies Tour thro' Montreal 5th Vol. Tourists—4 Vol. Ame. Museum & Lee's Memoirs. Afternoon, Gamaliel came from Lynn—went with him to North Fields & in the eveng to Danvers—home & to bed at 10 O'clock. Head ache severely.

Sunday, 20. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6. Wind S. & pleasant forenoon. Afternoon wind S. E. & chilly. towards night Rain—forenoon to hear Dr Barnard Afternoon Parson Hopkins. Gamaliel went home at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 O'clock. Spent the evening with Sara. Home and to bed at 11 O'clock.

Monday, 21. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6. Wind S. W. warm & pleasant. Moved. Moved my things before going to the Office in the morning. From too violent exercise in moving, fatigued myself very much—sweat profusely, & took a severe cold, which caused my bones to be extremely sore. Afternoon, wind changed to N. W. & blew a hurricane. Spent an hour with Sara, after dinner, & also spent the evening with her. Mr Gardner & wife, spent the eveng with Mrs Thayer. To bed at 10 O'clock. lay very cold & slept very poorly.

Tuesday, 22. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5. Wind N. W. & very cold & clear. carried my wood up garret. walked upon the hills & out into Essex Street home to breakfast at $\frac{1}{2}$

past 7 o'clock. Afternoon violent flurry of hail. After supper. my cold increasing & my limbs being very sore, I retired to rest at 8 O'clock.

Wednesday, 23. Rose at 6. Wind S. E. raw, cold; much like snow. Afternoon wind S. E. & a violent snow storm, which continued all the afternoon & the chief part of the night. To bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7.

Thursday, 24. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6. Wind N. & cold. Sun all the forenoon. Afternoon, cloudy & very chilly. Spent the evening with Sara, to bed at 11 O'clock. Slept well.

Friday, 25. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6. Wind S. W. & pleasant, but very cold. At noon overcast & raw. my cold very tedious—head aches and eyes very sore—Sara drank tea at our house and with my Mother spent the evening with us. Froze quite hard. To bed at 11.

Saturday, 26. Rose at 6. Wind S. W. Raw cold disagreeable day, and as unpleasant a week for the 6 days past, as had happened for 6 months, to a person that is well, more especially for one that has had the head ache & a violent cold during the whole of the time. My eyes ache so while I am writing that I can but just see. Bear it with patience. hope for the best—the worst will come fast enough. Spent the afternoon, agreeable indeed with Sa. Sally drank coffee at our house. Afternoon. very windy & towards night rainy. Spent the evening at Mrs Gardner's, Mr O's store & at home, alternately. To bed at 10 O'clock.

Sunday, 27. Rose at 7. Wind N. W. Cold, overcast & windy. Spent the day at home, with a fire in my chamber. Read part of a Discourse on Atheism, & a Discourse upon the subject that God is a spirit. read several chapters of the book of Deuteronomy. After Coffee, at night walk'd to Pool's—on my return stopped at my mother's. from thence to Mrs Gardner's; with her I spent the evening Mr G & Sally being gone to Lecture. Home & to bed at 11 O'clock.

Monday, 28. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6. Wind N. W. clear & very cold. Spent the evening at Mr Joseph Symonds in company with Sally. Home & to bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10.

Tuesday, 29. Rose at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 6. Wind N. W. clear & cold. At noon, very pleasant & mild—spent an hour with Sally after dinner. Ship *Essex* J. Orne, arrived from

Calcutta. Spent the eveng with Sally. Mrs G. to see Mrs Thayer, Mr G. to Mr Thayer's at 9 O'clock. & returned with his wife at 10. Home & to bed at 1/2 past 11. very pleasant.

Wednesday, 30. Rose at 7. Wind N. W. & very pleasant. At the office at 1/2 past 7 & after dinner at 1/2 past 1 O'clock. Colonel Lee went to Boston. At night stopped at My Father's, & from thence to Mrs G's. Mrs G. & my Mother drank tea at our house. Afternoon wind S. E. & raw. Spent the evening with Sally. Home & to bed at 10 O'clock. Federal Caucus this evening.

Thursday, 31. Rose at 6. Wind S. E. overcast & raw, cold. Went to the office before breakfast. After dinner walk'd two miles up the turnpike; wind very bleak indeed. Spent the evening with Sally. Home & to bed at 11 O'clock. Capt. John Holman, in the ship *Two Brothers*, arrived from the Isle of France. This day completes one year since I began a Diary. Republican caucus this evening.

NEW BELL FOR SALEM

London ye 12th Aug.t 1796

Elias Hasket Derby Esq.

Inclosed you have Bill of Lading & Invoice for the Bell you wrote to us for, the amount being £83. 5. 7 is carried to your debit, have charg'd nothing for Commission, as we owe too much respect for the Town of Salem to think of such a thing, we shall be happy to hear that this Order is executed so as to give satisfaction, according to our Judgement the Bell is just such a one as your letter describes.

we are with respect, Sir, Your most hble Serts,

Lane & Fraser.

— *Essex Institute, Derby Mss., vol. 4, p. 57.*

JOURNAL OF CAPT. JOHN CROWNINSHIELD
AT CALCUTTA, 1797-1798, WHEN MASTER
OF THE SHIP "BELISARIUS"

FROM THE ORIGINAL OWNED BY
FRANCIS B. CROWNINSHIELD

Capt. John Crowninshield¹ was twenty-five years of age when he made this voyage in the *Belisarius*, leaving Salem on October 18, 1796 and arriving at Salem on July 26, 1798. This was the third voyage of the famous ship, which was built by Enos Briggs at his shipyard at Stage Point in the South Fields and launched in October, 1794, for the Crowninshield family. The father George, and the sons Jacob, Benjamin, John, Richard and George are all registered at one time or another as part owners of the *Belisarius*, and four of them, at various periods, commanded her. In fact, before 1809, nobody but a Crowninshield had owned a share in this vessel. Her voyages to the East were among the earliest and the quickest, and she brought many valuable cargoes, which helped to build up the fortune of her owners. She was a vessel of two hundred sixty-one and one-half tons, measured only ninety-four and one-half feet in length, with a breadth of twenty-five feet, and was apparently designed more for speed than tonnage. The duties paid on her cargoes ranged from fifteen to twenty-one thousand dollars.

The following journal was kept by Captain Crowninshield while he was in Calcutta, buying a cargo for a return voyage and is interesting as it gives much information in detail concerning methods of trading with the natives. It also shows what business acumen a young man of twenty-five must have possessed to successfully deal with many problems which confronted him. His mate was Samuel Skerry, Jr., who later commanded this vessel for the Crowninshields. The *Belisarius* was one of the earliest ships to be copper-bottomed. Dr. Bentley described her as "one of the Richest Ships of the Port". She went to pieces in a gale, a total wreck, in the Bay of Tunis, in April, 1810, the crew and cargo saved.

¹ For sketch of Capt. John Crowninshield, see E. I. Hist. Coll., vol. 80, p. 139.

Calcutta River Hugly Decemb. 14 1797

1797— *Thursday 14*: Arived up to town in the forenoon & moored the ship low down — in the stream gave the pilot my Note for 121 Rupees for piloting the ship up — she drew $10\frac{1}{2}$ but we must pay for 11 if she draw above 10 &c. I got an early dinner & went on shore to ingage a house & after seeing several I concluded to take the largest & the others I saw where not only small but have no go down or stores, & are a long way from the custom house & all goods must go there before you can export them & the cooly hire would be more & this house which I have taken (it is larger than I wanted) has sufficient room & large go downs but the price is high 125 Rupees per month I felt myself pritty tired after traversing about so much & went on board to sleep.

Friday 15: I came on shore in the morning & entered the ship & took charge of my house & brought on shore my desk — trunks & some pictures & furniture &c. & then I waited upon M^r Fairlie to know if his house had received the money for the bills remitted them from Madras upon the Government here to the amount of 73483:4:8 Current Rupees & he informed me they had received it all & that they would allow me intrest for the same — & that I may receive the money when I please however I shall not want it this 20 days yet — I then waited upon M^r Miller, our Consul to let him know such a vessel was in port as it is our duty to do always. I dined at M^r Fairlie's house this day — I find Iron will fetch a little more than I gave for it but the cotton I fear will not so much — piece goods I believe are upon the whole reasonable or not dear Sugar not dear — cheaper than it was 5 or 6 months ago when my brother [Jacob Crowninshield] was here in ship *America* — I find that he left this port 3 July for America he will make a good voyage. I received two letters from him one dated 3 July the other on his leaving the pilot at the sand^r heads 11 July I find that there has been here a great many American Ships perticular Salem vessels & that they have carried home a good deal of Sugar & at a high price 10 or 11 Rupees the mond 82 £. & piece goods at a higher price than they are at present — I have received a letter from my brother Richard dated Hamburg

Nov^r 7 — 96 — brought by Capt. Jackson who is now here & ends Friday I sleep on shore in the house I have took to reside in —

Saturday 16: when I was at Isle France a Gentleman wished to send 358½ Dollars & 27 Rupees to a gentleman here the dollars I laid out in Isle France in gold lumps (48 lumps) & of cours took the risk upon myself — today the Gentleman sent for the same I gave him the 358½ Dollars — & likewise the rupees but the 22 Rupees where but half ones & 5 only where whole ones but they where the same that I took in Isle France & of cours they must be right I let my Banian have the above 48 Lumps of gold to try what he can obtain for them I think he can obtain more for them than what I gave — yesterday I sent the pinance & barge over the other side of the water in M^r Gillets yard as we do not want them it will save them from being stove & keep them out of our way — I sent musters of 4 bales of my cotton to Messrs. Fairlie Gilmore & C^o to see what they will offer for the same — borrowed of M^r Skerry (the chief mate) 350 Dollars — Capt. Jackson (who brought me my brother Dick's letter from Hamburg) called upon me today he has been here about a month & expects to sail in a month for Philadelphia.

M^r Macarty (who was our Consul at the Isle de France a little time past) called on me to learn what news from Isle France &c. (& Capt. Lawson allso) I brought him a letter from there from his Nephew William Macarty who came out from Albany via New York expecting to meet his uncle but was disappointed & is now returning home by the way of Copenhagen — I have not began to purches any goods as yet but shall (I believe) next week — my Banian is trying to find a place to heave my ship down at & to see what kind of an agreement I can make with the man &c. I sleep on shore at my house as I shall all the time — I dined at home.

Sunday 17: very pleasant as it all ways is this time of the year the mates have stript the ship all except the lower rigging-yards & top mast are down — as the lower rigging has never been lifted since the ship has been built — we shall have a fine time & a good oppertunity to give it all a good & thorough over hall as we intend so to do it

—has been standing 37 months — I dined at M^r Macarty's a little way out of town Capt Jackson & his supercargo & two french Gentlemen was there & Capt Lawson who was Capt of the *Triton* — & M^r Minot who has been with M^r Macarty this 4 years past he came out with my brother Jacob in ship *Henry* —

the Portugees fired a salute it being (as I am informed) the Queen of Portugal's birthday Capt Tredwell (of ship *Miroch*) left town yesterday morning (his ship being down River) for New York he being detained by some of his people they having left the ship & have been trying to oblige him to pay them their wages — by him I wrote a letter to my Father — & one (before) by Capt. Kolloch of Ship *Harmony* from Kedgeree of New York.

Monday 18: The Carpenter (Mr Barber) called upon me respecting recopper or repairing the Copper of the Ship & says he has a fine place where we can haul the ship on shore but it is what I have no idea of doing as she is so very sharp I am afraid of hurting of her as I would not have her hog'd for one half her value & he is to try if he can find a hulk that we may heave down by — I have made an agreement of this kind with him to give him 10 percent upon all the expences he to find all the workmen &c. — but I shall find the oakham & Copper & nails but shall give him 5 PCt. upon it however we cannot commence at present as the ship is still loaded we may begin next week — we have done nothing yet in the purchasing way as yet but they begin to bring me musters — sent on board ship some green hides & taned DW for the rigging — I wrote to Mr Fairlie to know if he had determined respecting the cotton I offered him the other day he sent word he was then engaged but would inform me in the morning — Capt Young called upon me to day this Gentleman came out pasenger with my brother Jacob on his first voyage which is 6 years ago he has done very well he now commands a large country ship of King of Travencores but tels me he has some thoughts of returning to America — I dined with Capt Jackson of Ship *John* Donelson supercargo — 3 other American Capt there — I learn that Capt Crowel is here — of Salem he came chief

officer of the *Triton* yesterday paid pilot 121/ — in & threw the Banian

Tuesday 19: Pleasant — Mr J Miller sent me a chit to know if I would buy three bales of Coast goods I told him must see the Invoice & muster & than I would tell him —

Mr Fairlie sent me a chit according to promise & tels me he cannot purches my cotton but made me an offer of 1 S R pr lb in bills upon London I wrote him I could not do that but would take any kind of goods at his own price — agreed for 25 maund 3 R 4 A of good ship bread 82 £) per muster at 3 Rupees 4 annas which is 221 cents per 112 £ the bread we bought in Salem for the ships stores I think cost us 10 dollars which 1000 cents an emmence differance —

the black people have brought musters of several kind of goods I shall begin to examin them tomorrow they on board ship come on pritty well in the rigging I believe shall begin to discharge cotton tomorrow — & prepare the ship for heaving down — a very disagreeable job but it must be done as we can see places where the copper is off — I shall endeavor to repair it as well & as cheap as I can — if she was sheethed I would not go to the expence as she is not I must.

(In the margin of this page)

25 maund at $\frac{3}{4}$ is 81 R 4 An

81 rupees 4 annas is 38 doll & 32 cents

25 maund is 18:1:6

3:4 is 221 cents dollars at 212 Rupees per loo dollars)

25 maunds is 18:1:6 at 10 dollars is 183 doll 3 cent
it would have cost in America difference 144: 71¢.

Wednesday 20: Received Mr Miller's chit with Invoice of goods as mentioned yesterday — of Puliacat & Vertipollom — Handkerchiefs with the musters — I told him I would examen them & let them know — in a day or two — received a (begging) chit from Rose Andrew I gave her 8 Rupees — sent a chit to G. R. Foley Esqr. custom master to know if I could land my Cotton (as I am obliged to heave my ship down) for Exportation (& if I

could sell in the mean time I of course would pay the duty) he sent me, verbally that I might land it & deposit the duty & if I take it away he will return the deposit — I concluded to land tomorrow — Capt R. Jackson & his supercargo Mr Donelson dined with me this day — in the forenoon Capt S^m (who came here chief officer of the *Triton*) Crowel called upon me to know if I could give him any information about his family I could not as I have been from home some time — he has been from home I believe 7 years — the officers on board comes on pritty well in refitting the rigging &c—

Thursday 21: sent boats alongside the ship & a chit to M^r Sherry to deliver to them all the cotton if they could take it — Capt Young (who came out pasenger with my brother Jacob about 6 years past) who commands a ship of say 500 tons called the *Sea Flower* belonging to the King of Travencore she is now laying by the bank hauled up — went with me on board my ship & had a tifing — amongst other matters I happened to mention we passed not far of or rather clost on board the shoal (in the Charts called Schedem) to the ESE poin Palmiras he instently laughed & desired me not to mention it to any one as he nor any body he ever saw it (except a Dutchman) that he is acquainted with, hower what I have seen with my own eyes I must believe & am so confident that such an one exists that when ever I pass that way in the night shall keep a verry good look out & if I think I am by the place by my sounding most certainly I shall come to anchor — it certainly does exist — then we went on board his ship — shes a large new ship a tier of ports a round house — a bad bow but a good clean run I think she will sail pritty well — came on shore I dined at home today & alone my Banian has bought for me today several sorts of white cloths at different price & I believe they are lower then they have been this some time past owing to the scarcity of specie. the officers on board sent on shore all the cotton & the Banian had it all brought up to my house & put in the Go-downs before night in all 165 bales some of them where in bad order I sent coolies on board & had them mended — in the forenoon Capt Hathway of the ship *Richmond* & M^r Donelson supercargo of Capt Jackson paid me a visit —

to day M^r (blank) sent me some old letters which where left with him & others by my Brothers Jacob, Benj^a & Richard but they where quite old they brought to light & raised in me some very pleasing & some melancholy ideas the latter I would wish to forget the former I could wish to cherish long being famely affairs &c. a friend of mine informed me (yesterday) that in the Telegraph of Saturday Decemb. 17, 1797— is something that concerns myself & ship — I sent for it & read as follow — on thursday afternoon, the American Ship *Bellesarius* capt Crowninshield, anchored off Calcutta from Isle of France, which she left the 22 october. as there is supposed to be not much dependance placed on the intelligence brought by American ships, from the French Islands, we shall forbear to mention anything we have heard by this ship — more perticularly, as there are some reports afloat respecting the conduct of this ship, on her former voyage — the truth of which we have not ascertained — I was not much surprised at it knowing the gentlemen wish to fill up their paper with intelligence more perticularly that which will keep the public still conjectering as that will bring still more of the same sort all to no purpose — as a proof of which I will just give the facts which if he had done conjector would have been out of the question by being lost in the truth — if I was not certain of this man being in Bengal this sometime past I should have room to suppose he was lately from some of the French Islands by giving to the public such vague intelligence & found upon so gross a falsehood — (as that is the charector he would wish to put up on us Americans from the F-1) however I have the pleasure to inform (him) that his floating intelligence is now safe come on shore — for as to myself I never have been in Calcutta since Dec^r '93— & as for the ship *Belisarius* under my command she never had the honour to be at Calcutta before now — all the stuf in his paper must have been trumpeted up by himself as I do not think any person would put such vague unfounded matter in the paper— he supposed it would create an answer in that case it would have raised across correspondence which would have amused the public & filled his paper up with but very little trouble to the editor —

Friday 22: I sent a chit yester to M^r Barber (who is to do the Repair to the ship) to send caulker today he sent me word he could not but would tomorrow — M^r Macarty came to my house today & told me that there is a fine large ship for sale & wished me to be in the concern with him & to purches her she has made one voyage to Europe only, is coppered & a good ship. I told him I was going across the river to dine on board the ship *Three Sisters*, & I would indeavor to see her & perhaps we could do some thing about her — the officers on board have sent on shore some iron today & they come on pretty well in the rigging way — capt Jackson called on me today — M^r Donnelldson came here him & myself went together across the river & dined on board ship *Three Sisters* Capt Dobel of Boston (this is the ship that Capt. Cathcart died on board of at Cape Devera Island on outward passage & his mate M^r Dobel took charge & proceeded to Burbon & Minella & here) Capt Dobel has been loaded & sailed & got as far as 15 N latitude sprang a leak & put back he supposed it was in her binds but not finding it there unloaded her & she is now in dock he finds her keel to be very much eaten indeed, it was not coppered down & no shoeing under the keel is the cause, which — when she was first built (this being her first voyage) this expence might have then . . . been saved by puting say 100 dollars more of copper now it will cost them at the lowest calculation 20,000 Rupees, besides all the lost time — is or was pasenger on board her Capt Camel of ship *Venus* from Boston belonging to Mr Tho Hewes this ship *Venus* was in much wors condition than the *3 Sisters* as she came from Boston (a very nice little ship & a very fast sailor) upon her single bottom nither sheethed nor coppered a most careless piece of business & Unpardonable in any man at this time of life she made out to carry herself as far as the coast of Malla-bar where she was in so bad a state that Capt Camel though it most for his owners intrest to sell ship & cargo for the most he could obtain & he had it on board the *3 Sisters* when she put back — the *Three Sisters* is a very fine ship say 300 tons coppered & is very sharp — 6 or 8 Americans dined on board of her with us — the *Three Sisters* is in dock which could take a much larger ship but

not 2 small ones it cost (I am told) 3 lack of Rupees (or 30,000 Sterling) & I think a much better one could be built in Salem upon a much more extensive plan for 15,000 dollars — I did not see the ship Mr Macarty talked about as when we went we was much above her & when we came home it was night — (I shall in the morning) my Banian has bought me some more white cloths & a large quantity of coloured handkerchiefs—mock puliacat &c. — we shall begin to pack — on monday next & they have brought considerable goods to the house — I am in hopes we shall have all the Iron out tomorrow in that case we shall have the ship ready to heave out next week & perhaps finished —

Saturday 23: Went on board ship to see how they come on they find several of the topmast shrouds gone & bobstay allso — they have overhauled the fore rigging & found it all good & have put it over mast head again — I expect to have to buy some new lanyards which I shall put to the main rigging — they will send on shore the greatest half of the Iron today — I went in the Dengy up on board of the Ship *Richmond* of Philadelphia — Cap Hathaway he is quite unwell relaxt — he has a very fine ship I believe 450 tons — her carved work on the stern in most excellent indeed & a most beautiful stern in fact there is no english ship that can show such good neet work she cost I hear 36,000 dollars copper bottom — boolts & spiks in the bottom — on passing up I saw the ship M^r Macarty was speaking about she is a very excellent ship, built here say 700 tons is called the *Superb*, copper bottomed all rigged, around house & very excellent ship indeed but not handsome I fancy she will go high but I dont think they wish to sell her as they appear to be fitting her out as they have a good many hands onboard at work she is a ship of a great burthen a tier of ports I think a dul sailor — in fact a good beast of burthen — from the *Richmond* I came home. M^r Minot called on me he is just from Salampoor a Danish place 15 miles on the Larboard land up river we had a tifing — he wished me to go out & dine with M^r Macarty (but I could not) & talk with him about the ship I think he wants to get a ship much in consequence of my having thoughts about the above ship when

I went out in the morning I left orders for my Banian not to buy any more goods & on my return I found he has obeyed me — I dined at home & alone — the general time of dining here is $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 — or 5 or 6 o'clock by & by the days will be turned upside down (the world has been so this some time) however it is the custom of the country & all foreigners in general comes into it in time as it is more natural to suppose that strangers will come into small inconveniences than that Natives will give up old customs and rights.

Sunday 24: pleasant — most beautiful weather no rain not even a threatening cloud for it — no tides at all since we have been here it is not so strong as it is in Bordeaux but now is the best time of the year in the south West monsoon it runs very strong indeed — late in the morning I went on-board (on going down I met with Capt Dobel & Mr Donaldson coming from *Charity* Ship — being Sunday nothing done today on board the greatest half of the people (I advanced J.J—LS—WJ—JJ—TM — & the carpenter all some money in & threw the Dubash) are on shore upon liberty — they have the ship pretty foreward the fore rigging is all done & over head & the bowsprit rigging is all fitted — the rigging is not yet lifted we shall want all new lanyards to the main rigging & I fear some other new ropes which is now at a high price — I stayed on board some time came home at 1 Capt Jackson came here stayed till 4 I went & dined at his house with a number of Americans at 5 — tarried there untill 8 came home & amused myself a little time & turned in — Christmas eve.

Monday 25: sent boats along side airly this morning in order to have the Iron all out before night if possible & they had it all out of ship & on shore before night & now the ship is all clear except her stores &c which I shall send a boat for in the morning as it will be much cheaper to put all here stores, spars, sails, cables, water casks & other small matters in a boat then it will be to transport them to shore & to store them I think that by Friday the ship will be all ready to haul along side the hulk to heave down & the next week finished I hope — the black merchants have brought a good many bales of goods to the house & my

people have began to pack today made a beginning & that is all — today is Christmas day & is quite a holy day amongst the English nothing done by them or not much — received a chit from our Consul M^r Miller to dine with him a Garden reach tomorrow 4 miles from this a pritty good ride in a palinqueen not much amusement here as you must always have your palanqueen after you & in general ride in it which is quite too lazy an exercise & if you wish to go to the theatre you must pay 16 rupees —

Tuesday 26: I received a chit from Capt Dobel requesting me to be on a survey of his ship *Three Sisters* at 10 I called on Capt Jackson & we went over together she is in dock the other side of the river & several master carpenters there allso — her keel is so very bad that they are obliged to shore her up as secure as if they where just building here all a long under her bottom &c — her keel is so far gone that as she sets upon some of the cross planks which are under it they have sunk in to it 6 & 7 inches (her keel not being coppered down to its lower part by 4 or 5 inches neither had it any shoeing on it) the worms have gone from the bottom up threw it it is eaten all to a honey comb in some places you can haul it away by your hand — her stems bad but not so much — the garbard streak aft very bad — a small place on the stern post is bad — her rudder too — & some places on the bow where the copper is off is also eaten (every way else a very good ship & appears to have been a good deel of pains taken in building her as she is copper bolts & spikes all under the bends & in fact a great expence upon her but they hurt not only her goodnes but her looks by laying her counter too low) & in fact she is in a shocking situation because it is so difficult to put a new keel into her which she must have in consequence of which they are taking out the old one (I mean what is left of it) as the worms are threw it entirely — the water (which was started in her) runs threw the full keel in a dozen places 100 dollars in copper when she was first built would have saved the owners at least 20,000 rupees as they will loose that by it — hower I dont think it was not done with a view to save 100 dollars but threw carelessness it is a great pitty for she is a good ship — (my ship is coppered but her keel is not coppered

clear down but then we have a deep shoeing on it) we had a tiffing on board the *Three Sisters* then came home — I found my Banian very busy overhauling goods & packing them up I make him be very particular in examining the goods & very careful in packing of them up that they may not be damaged. Capt Dobel — Capt Camel the Doctor of the Ship *Richmond* & myself all met at Capt Jacksons — when himself & M^r Donaldson & the rest of us all went & dined at M^r Millers (our Consuls) according to an invitation 3 English gentlemen allso one by the name of Clark who was so very unfortunate as to be cast away on the coast of New Holland, he being supercargo of a ship called the *Sidney Cove* that sailed hence in Novemb^r 1796 for port Jackson & after a long pasage arived of the coast of New Holland, in February, there the ship sufered so much in a severe storm that it was found imposible to keep the ship afloat, the safety of the people therefore left no alternative but that of running the ship on the nearest shore. the crew landed on an Island at no great distance from New Holland, the weather becoming moderate, the chief part of the cargo, stores & provision where also got on shore, soon after the accident it was determined to equip the long boat & dispatch her, with an account of the loss of the ship, to Port Jackson. M^r Clark the supercargo, M^r Thomson, chief officer, & 13 of the crew embarked on the long boat, leaving behind Capt Hamilton & the remainder of the people — 3 days after getting to sea, the boat encountered with a violent gale, in which she was driven on shore, and wrecked on the Coast of New Holland, the people however got on shore, entirely destitute of provisions, & unarmed on a desert shore, here & their inhabited by ferocious savages, & distance upwards 500 miles from Sidney Cove, the situation of the survivors just escaped from the wreck of the long boat, must have been indiscribably deplorable, with a fortitude suited to their situation, the party began their hopeles march for Sidney Cove, on the second or third day after setting out, they where assailed by a party of natives, who throwing their spears with great dexterity from a distance, wounded several of the unfortunate travelers. M^r Thomson lingered for a day or two & died of his wounds, after a series of the

most incredible difficulties & distress, during a march of nearly 600 miles, subsisting on shell fish, or whatever else the sea beach occasionally afforded, M^r Clark & two others, the only survivors of the party arrived at Sidney Cove in May (where they 63 days in performing this long distance — with a fortitude that does honour to the performers & a resolution that was inspired by the hopes of once more associating with their fellow creatures) they were received with that humanity which their unparelled sufferings could not but inspire, & in a few weeks they were restored to their former health, a Schooner was dispatched from Sidney Cove to the Island where the wreck lay, & she had returned with Capt Hamelton, & several of his people, & a cargo saved from the wreck, the Schooner was prepared to return for the remainder of the people & a further part of the Cargo. M^r Clark is a young man say 30 — he came out as a passenger on ship *India* Capt Ashmead from Philadelphia — & it is not 20 months since he was in the West Indies he has seen a great part of the world in a very little time & to his sorrow more of New Holland than any European ever has done yet or will perhaps this 2 or 3 Centuries to come — he appears to be a lively & sociably young man — I sent boats a long side in the morning in order to take out all the things from the ship in order to have her clear for heaving down & I find they have taken all out except a little ballast, & a few spars which were upon deck I desired M^r Skerry to go & get some rope for the lanyards he could not find any to his liking but thinks he can make out with what he has on board M^r Skerry informs me that J. Johnson has been absent from the ship 44 hours — just after he came to the house & told me he could not go on board just then as he must have a little more money — I told the Dubach to give him some & ordered him to be on board before sun down which he promised to do (I shall remember it) this is for my taking him out of prison ship at Isle France (where he must have layed 3 months) as he said he wished to get home to his wife & family at Philadelphia — did not get home from M^r Millers untill after nine & when I had got my tea it was time to turne in —

Wednesday 27: I find that J Johnson did not go on

board last night untill 10 or 11 o'clock — Capt Young called on me today to have a little chat on the times & lectures on heads &c — Capt Lawson called on me & in a little time Mr. Macarty & after Capt Young took leave the two latter began the discourse respecting the ship we the other day had in contemplation they seem to be very anxious to obtain her & they think they can get her reasonable as they inform me the man is allmost obliged to sell her but says that she cost him new 85,000 rupees but in that case I think she is much too high & above the value I dont say she is not worth it I mean to say that she will not fetch it as I think she will, however they have not been able to know what they can have her for — if we should buy her I fear we should be at a loss to find officers — & I find that my Banian has bought more goods than I had an Idea of because in case I should take half of the large ship I should want heavy articles such as sugar &c — to be able to fill her up however we could not conclude upon anything at present as matters stands as we have nothing to form our judgement upon & was obliged to put it of at the present & M^r Macarty invited me to dine with him the day after tomorrow then we may be able to make up our minds — I took the dingy & passed up the fleet some good looking ships & some monsters appearently — the *Superb* is a good ship but an ugly one she will carry a great burthen but sail at a great expence I went on board ship & find they have got the M rigging overhead & small lanyards rove which I dont like & shall have them unrove & reeve larger ones she is all most ready to heave down I shall send the pilot on board tomorrow to moove her to the carpenters yard My Banian has packed 6 bales white cloths today which with the 4 the other day makes 10, poor work at present however they are hardly under way as yet — the workmen does not come to work untill 10 & leave off allmost when they please — one European can do as much hard work as 6 of them — I dined at home & alone today — here is only (Americans) her ship *Three Sisters*, Dobel of Boston, the *Richmond*, Hathaway — John-Jackson, Philadelphia, Carteright & ourselves — all ships — Jackson sails in 8 or 10 days —

Thursady 28: in the morning I felt quite unwell re-

laxt, I went in my palinqueen down on the esplenade & had a look at the ship & in that the caulkers are not done yet, I sent a pilot on board but it was too late to moove the ship of course we must postpone it untill tomorrow — M^r Skerry came on shore & got country rope enough for main lanyards the rope is very good made from this country hemp but no tar in it — my Banian has packed 7 bales white cloth only today — such a slow set of fellows & there is no driving them it makes me mad to see & hear them — I went in my palanqueen to Capt Jacksons he was not at home (& M^r Donaldson — Cap^t Crowel — Capt Dobel are gone up to Salampoor) but just after he called on me & then Capt Young — & had a little chit chat about old times they stayed some time & went away — I dined at Capt. Jacksons with Young & Camel — & on coming home Capt Camel & myself called on Mr. Davis this is a young man of Philadelphia (who came out with one Capt Sems of that port in ship *Flame* 6 years ago) he has been to the North West of America & allmost all over India he is now very unwell indeed confined to his bed his body thighs & legs are fell away amazingly & the fingers on his left hand he can't rise up at all his legs & feet are at times in such a deadly pain that it is allmost beyond enduring & then such shoots of pain runs athwart his feet that it allmost destracts him in his face he looks pretty well which he accounts for in this way that all the blood from his legs & body has risen there he is possessed of a good share of sperits & appears to bear it well as we could expect he can now at times bear to be carried in to & take a ride in the palanqueen by his appearence I think he has been a very lusty man & a healthy one he tels me he caught cold laying in the open air which is dangerous in this country to strangers — $\frac{1}{2}$ past nine I came home & not feeling very well I thought it best to turn in & go to sleep.

Friday 29: the pilot went on board airly in the morning & hove up the anchors & dropt the ship up abreast of Mr Barbers yard but without all the shiping & in the middle of the river & would not take her within — to the bank — I would not thank him to do what he has done the reason I had him at all was for fear that if we mooved her with-

out one & got foul any ship & damaged her I should be obliged to make good the damages but there was no kind of danger in dropping her up in the middle of the stream the danger in fact was taking her from where the pilot left her in to the bank which the mates did after the pilot left them — he was not long on board however 25 rupees is what I must pay him — the hulk we are to have is employed by another vessel she will be done in a day or two in that time we shall be all ready — she has a little ballast in yet which we must heave out & her spars are on deck & other trumpry which the hulk will hold — my Banian has packed several bales of white cloths & four bales blue handkerchiefs today which is the best days work yet — & one bale puliacat handkerchiefs containing (3 different sorts & prices) 56 of the first — 58 second — 148 third — pieces have 3 pieces which I have left out of the first sort beside the 56 pieces & they have overhauled some more goods which will be packed tomorrow — I dined at Mr Macarty's & he & Mr Lawson talked about the ship we had in contemplation but they appeared to wave the ship & introduce a large snow — that was taken from the Dutch by the French & carried to Isle France — bought & is now here I know her to be a good strong well built vessel she may carry 400 tons by there account they cannot buy her to stand them in less than 17,000 dollars which is more than she is worth however we concluded to look at her in the morning — I did not come home untill after 9 & not feeling very well I turned in.

December Saturday 30: My Banian has sold my Iron today at 8 current rupees per one factory mound (a current rupee bears this proportion to a sacca one — 116 current is 100 sacca — the dollars at 100 for 212 sacca rupees — factory mound is $74\frac{2}{3}$ £ english & a Barah mound is 82 £ english) at one & two months credit it is not dear if I can obtain my first cost after paying all charges I shall feel content — I have not been able to do any thing with my cotton at present & hardly know what to do with it it takes up so much room in the ship or I would take it home with me — however I must do the best I can with it — When I was at Madras last July I sent on to Messrs. Fairlie Gilmore & Co a Government Bill of Exchange upon

this presidency for 73483.4.8 current rupees at 30 day sight in order for them to get the same expected & receive the sum when due & for them to keep it untill I should come to Bengal but subject to my or my owners order but that they might make use of it & allow me the intrest & when I first arived they informed me they had received it & would give me intrest for the same I told them I should not want to make use of it this 15 or 20 days hence & that I would draw the same out of their hands by small sums they said it would suit them the better so to do — yesterday I gave to my Banian an order for him to receive from Mess. F G Co. the sum of 10,000 sacca rupees they refered him to their saccar & he said there was no money in the chest at present but would be in a day or two money is very scarce indeed now — & 73483 current rupees will come hard from the first merchants in Calcutta — however as it is money I lodged with them upon faith of its being returned when I should call they must of course raise it for me somehow or other — & I feel confident that they will do it at any rate — Capt Lawson called on me to go & look at the Snow we talked of yesterday — we went over the river where she lays & with a rank keel they have took off some of the copper on a line fore & aft it is as thick copper as I ever saw on any vessels bottom & is in good order they have took out 2 plank in the buttock which was broke in bending too & of course rotten where the water got in — we went on board & in the hole her work looks very frech indeed & she is a very strong built (she was built at Batavia for the Company) vessel deep in the hold rather low between decks a kind of a round house or high quarter deck & a low top gallant fore castle & her hull in good order her standing lower rigging good other ways very bear indeed & in fact she wants every thing & would be a dear ship even at a low price as she now stands I should suppose she would cary weight & measurement nigh 400 tons but we found she would not answer our purposes therefore we have left her as we found her nither better nor worse — from her we went to see the *Three Sisters* (it being clost by) we went under her bottom they have taken out all most all her keel & the greatest part of her stem intire she is in a most shocking condition & I think

they will be a long time about it & it will be a very expensive job indeed — M^r Curtis informed me that Capt Dobel is not come from up river yet — then we came on board my ship & the mates where just seting down to dinner & we sat down & had what they call here a tiffing — I find the hulk is not come as yet but if she had come this morning we should have been prepaired to have the ship keel out in the morning but now we shall not — so I told the mates that as tomorrow is sunday & that the hulk will not be alongside they might let the people have Sunday to themselves & I intend to loose one day that I may gain by it in the end as they expect to have that day they will work the brisker for it — when we came away Capt. Lawson said we must give up all thoughts of the Snow & I thought that he would wish to intimate that he did not wish to purches a vessel which upon the whole I was not sorry for & on my coming home I wrote a chit to M^r Macarty that I hoped it would not be any disappointment to him in my declining to be on the persuite of purchasing the Snow or any other vessel he sent me back only compliments — in consequence of there persuation I have not bought any goods since tuesday 21 — which was the first day I purchesed any however I have not lost time as the people have not packed all I then bought — but it ought to prove to them that I was fixt to buy a ship with them if we could suit ourselves but as we have been this 8 days in persuite of one & are in the end no nigher than when we first began our persuite after one therefore I think that I have a right to withdraw my intentions & to give up all thoughts of buying a ship — & as it seams as if they rather inclined not to purches & in consequence of which I wrote the above chit to M^r Macarty — & all is finished — I went to Capt Jacksons (his mate was there but soon went away) & in a little time Capt Camel came — we had a little chat but I did not stay long I invited them to dine with me on monday & them to invite the rest of the Americans if they saw them to night as it is expected they will come from up the river today — I find my Banian has packed seven bales white cloths & eight bales mock pulicats today & they have overhauled a good many more handkerchiefs which of cours will be packed tomorrow. I believe that Capt

Jackson in ship *John* of Philadelphia will be able to sail in 2 or 3 days she came here by the way of Hamburg I shall write by her as she will go direct for Philadelphia & Capt Carteright will be the next to sail for America she is a small ship called the *Warren* & ends Saturday —

Sunday 31: in the morning I gave a memorandum to my Banian to have made for me 3 or 4 different sorts of rigging for ships use & told him to send up river & get me 10 a 15 bolts duck for ship & some twine as our sails wants a good deel of repairs — & I shall take them up to the house where they can have more room to spread them — Mr Skerry came to the house & tels me that the carpenter tels him that he fears they cannot have the hulk this two or three days yet I am very sorry as by tomorrow the ship will be all ready to heave out —

Capt Jackson came here & wanted to sell me some beef & pork he asked 40 R for beef I told him it was too dear & would not but it & he went off Capt Young came & invited me to dine out with him we went out 2 miles in his buggy he lives at the house of an old gentleman who was there it is quite pleasant — no goods packed today but they have been overhauling more handkerchiefs when I went to dine out today I told the consumer (which is the man who buys all the provision a man you must have & a man that will make money out of you) that as I should not be at home to dine that he might give the Dinner to some of the ships crew as it was probably some of them would be here there came 3 or 4 of them they after dinner went away very well satisfied but John C Brandenburg who ever since we have been in port has come on shore very airly stayed at the house all day & gone on board by dark — when I came home after 7 I went to go to the necessary but could scarcely open the door & found John there asleep the situation I saw him in induced me to think he had been in liquor or that liquor had been in him but he wished to make me believe it was other ways the consumer told me that he believed he was drunk as he had seen him with wine today now this same John ever since we left the Isle of France has been shocking bad with the venereal disorder & not capable of doing anything — on our arrival here I made him go to an English doctor for some time but he

told me he had found a Black doctor who would cure him for half the sum that the English one would & wished of me money enough to pay off the first one I told the seccar to give him enough as he did I dont think the first done him much good but I feel sure that the black one has done him a good deal of good & he is on the mending hand fast & now for the careless fellow to go & get in liquor (I never knew him to do so before) & to lay down & sleep in a place floored with bricks & covered with mud very wet indeed but there is no accounting for the carelessness of some of these kind of people — advanced Isaac Gidding by the Dubash 20 Rupees — the black merchants left the house sooner today than common as they overhauled all that is here tomorrow they will bring more & we shall pack what is now overhauled.

Monday Jan. [1798] New Years Day — Mr. Skerry came to the house & told me that John Jays had abused Mr Downing (the second mate) very much in consequence of which Mr. Downing struck him & said John Called a boat alongside slyly & left the ship & as I suppose with a determination not to return as he thinks he can oblige me to pay him his wages & I fear he can which is to a considerable amount he is a good sailor to sea but unruly in port, however if he leaves the ship (as he must) it is of no great consequence as we had one man extra — Capt Jackson & Capt Camel called on me with a paper certifying the situation of the ship *Three Sisters* (as we 3 with the carpenters where on the survey) drawn up by the carpenter certifying that she wanted to have the whole of her keel taken out & the garbard streak & the next one to it & her cutwater & stem allmost up to the head & that in consequence of her being obliged to be supported in such an oneasy posture it would be necessary to strip off all her copper on account of her straining the oakham from the seams that she would want recorking all over her bottom & then to sheeth her — but our oppinion was this — that her keel must come out fore & aft & of course the garboard streak allthough it is not eaten but the keel cant be put in unless it comes out (the garboard streak is very much eaten aft) & as it is probably the carpenters cannot make good work in sheeting the garbard streak unless the next

to it comes out that is fore & aft but not amidship we thought it necessary to take the former out fore & aft & part of the latter if it is found necessary & that the stem must come out all most as high as the ships head — but as the copper is pritty good all over her bottom except round the bows — & some place below & a few places along on the crop of her bilge we did not think it necessary to have the copper off unless after all the other work is done it should be perceived on examination that the ship had strained & would want to be corked in that case it would be most prudent to strip the copper off in places & to examin the seams it could be easly ascertained if she had strained or not — we three waited on the carpenter M^r Glass & told him this our oppinion & he seem'd to come in to it & said he would have the paper altered to it & wished us to call tomorrow & he would be prepared to finish the business — we went on board my ship we found her all up in arms — prepairing & allmost ready to heave out we had a tifing — & then went on board Jackson ship *John* — but soon come on shore I went to Jacksons house but soon returned home & found my house evacuated & entirely empty when I left it in the morning it was full of black merchants but they having began to overhaul the cloths that I had agreed for my Banian found them not equal to the musters & refused them & not being any ready to pack the merchants & labourers all left the house when they are all here they make a most horrid noise — I had to dine with me today Capt Crowel, Capt Hathaway, Capt Camel, Capt Jackson, Capt Dobel, M^r Crowfort — M^r Donaldson & Capt Hathaways Doctor (& I wrote a chit to Capt Cartwright (Ship *Warren*) of Nantucket to be with us but he said he was previously ingaged & did not come) it being new years day we spent the latter part of it very agreeable indeed & I believe to all of their satisfactions — M^r Miller sent me his bill in the name of Tod & Miller for the pulicat handkerchiefs I bought of him Am^t to S R 3317:1:4 — I gave him a bill on Fairlie Gilmore & C^o payable in 20 days but they have not sent me the money I sent to them for last friday I think a little of it as it is money I lodged with them that I might have it when I called for it — but my Banian tels me money is very scarce indeed — from my

house we went to see Mr Davis we found him in much the same situation as last but in good spirits — I stayed & saw the rest have a game or two at Billiards then I came home & turned in Capt. Crowel promised to send me his horse in the morning that I might have a ride

Tuesday 2: very airy in the morning Capt Crowels servent came to my house with his horse & I rode him up to the course & rode him round it 3 times & then came home — Capt Crowel was very anxious for fear the horse would heave me as these country horses are in general very vicious & will rise upon their hind legs & turn sideways & run away with you if it is posible he said his horse was apt to be guilty of these tricks — but he behaved with me very gentle indeed once he turned sideway & began running but I soon brought him in the course again & made him pass on slowly as the race horses passed & when he found I was not afraid of him & that I could manage him he would go very gently without playing any tricks & before the morning was past I got so used to him & could command him so easily that half the way home I laid the reigns on his neck & made him canter while other horses was passing him — which is very uncommon with these country horses specially those that are vicious — on the fore part of the day my house was full of black people with musters of goods & packing goods — I believe at least 60 if not 80 persons you could scarcely hear yourself speak these people that we buy off are not satisfied with those people who we appoint as indifferent persons to examin the goods but they must come & intercept these people & have a long harrangue & then call a half dozen more from the furthest end of the room & then all of them together will make a terrible noise & must have the dispute out let the consequence be what it may however I sometimes am obliged to command silence & with a pritty high hand too & then it will be a dead silence for a long hour for they must obey master for they would not affrout him openly but will I am told cheat him slyly if it is posible & I fear it is too often the case I hear complaints enough to make me believe it is so these fellows keeps very good accounts as they are always a wrighting there is 4 or 5 at my house constantly writing — they set down on their legs & hold

the book in the hand when they write very sildom rest the book on any thing but the knee — Capt Camel called on me to go & finish the certificate with M^r Glass respecting the *Three Sisters* we both went to his office but he told us he had neglected to have the certificate altered but he would finish it in the afternoon & send it as we desired him, to Capt Crowels where we are all to dine — coming out we met Capt Dobel we told him of the above & he & Camel whent to the Vandue & I came home to over look these black people that are packing goods — my Banian has bought some more goods today checks & checks handkerchiefs to the amount of several bales — I have all the goods very carefully overhauled first examined as to the quality & goodness by the muster pieces — then as to the number in each piece or the length & breadth &c then by another set to see if there is any holes — spots or any damaged by every fold of the cloth & if it is in the least faulty we pass it by — I make 3 sorts of each that is A-B-C- & have them well packed — I went to Capt Jacksons & had an excellent tiffing it is a long time from breakfast at 8 untill dinner at 5 a 6 which is absolutely necessary to eat something betwen all this time the English calls it a tiffing the Americans a lunching — from Jacksons I went with Capt Camel to his house to see what he bought pulicats for & when he saw mine today he said they where not so good as his (I mean mock-pulicate handkerchiefs) I found by his accounts that mine is the cheapest — & when I came home I asked my Banian (without telling him my reasons for it or that I had been to see Capt. Camels prices) if these handkerchiefs he has bought for me are as good as those he bought for my brother Benj. & he assures me that Benj. has none so good as his hiest price ones is $4\frac{7}{8}$ — & he gives me his word that mine is good & at a low price & I feel content thus far at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 I went to Jacksons & several of us who had mustered there went to dine with Capt Crowel where was the same company that dined with me yesterday (except Capt Hathaways Doctor) with the addition of Doctor Davis who is not able to walk a single step alone he makes the black take him to his palanquene he lay upon the couch all the time his feet & legs has no kind of feeling in them all the blood has left

them & is mounded into his face & at times he has no pulse in his riste — but then you can just feel them up by his elbow & yet he is full of spirits I have my doubts if he can recover in this country (the best doctor here tells him he can do no more for him) but am apt to think if he could go home to America that he would be recovering on his passage & it appears to be his wish to go home but people nowadays is grown so selfish he thinks it would be hard persuading any captain to be troubled with him he appears to be a hearty young man even in his present situation we spent our time very agreeable today & particularly at dinner & all hands appeared to be well pleased in passing the time so pleasantly being all so far from home I came home before eight & began writing the evening being most remarkable pleasant — weighed some of the Iron today 483 bars it weighed 213 Ct.0 grs. 10 £. English weight which is factory mound 319 : 25 : 4 price as per Saturday — I fear it will fall short as it is quite rusty — the Cotton I dont know what to do with I have an offer today of one pound of pepper for one pound cotton the pepper in America is dul sale at 27 cents the cotton I feel sure will fetch upwards of 40 cents but it is so very bulky I think I must have it screwed here I shall save considerable in the room of it & carry it home I dont know what better to do with it Messrs. Fairlie Gilmore & C^o have not sent me the 10,000 rupees I sent my Banian after the 29 ult^o — I dont know what to think of it — it is not the way we do business in America his seccar had the confidence to offer to mine 2,000 rupees see the particulars in Saturday 30 ult^o. My Banian has packed today 13 bales of the course mock pulicat handkerchiefs & has over hauled more &c. — tomorrow I am promised to have the hulk sure if we do on the next day the ships keel will be above water — sleep

Wednesday 3: airy in the morning Capt Crowels servant came with his horse, I rode him up to the course & twice round it — he went very well & very steady I was back by 8 — I forgot to mention yesterday that while at (or rather before) dinner Capt Dobel produced the certificate that we was to sign respecting his ship it was now altered to what we thought was necessary to be done or nearly the same but it was made out in the form of a letter &

addressed to Mr Miller our Consul who is the person that dose the business of the *Three Sisters* I thought it ought to be made as a certificate but it is emmeteral so long as it is the ships true state — Camel & Jackson came here & we went to the latters & had a tiffing — afterwards Camel & Donaldson came here as I told them I would give them some overhauls of blue — Paracal such as I then had on which they liked very well — Camel could not get on any being a much stouted person then I am & Donaldson would not go to the trouble to take his boots & pantaloons of to try any on but I had some very nice coats of the same kind of the pantaloons that I never wore but once one of these fitted him which I gave him — they went home Capt Camel invited me to dine with him today I went down on board ship the hulk is not come today as I was so positively assured of yesterday — the ship is or will be ready today the outriggers is out for the main mast the blocks that the carpenter sent of where not strapt but he sent of stuf for it & told the mates how much but that for the main mast did not appear to me to be sufficient I told the mate to take it off & make it stronger (as it is a small rope made in a grumet & brought over the block in the 4 parts) or to support it with another piece of rope she has two shores to the M mast & two outriggers & three large ring bolts under the bends & a good rope from the mast to the outriggers — to the fore mast one shore one outrigger with two ring bolts under the bends — but the damn'd hulk is not come yet & I think it a chance if she does tomorrow — I told the mates to haul the Jolly boat up on shore as she is nocking about — I see that John Jays is on board (he came on board (blank) having been absent (blank) & without liberty he told me that M^r Dowling struck him & that he wished his discharge which I told him I could not or would not give him Mr Downing told me the reason he struck him was that he went down in the steerage to look up the scrapers & John damned him & wanted to know what business he (I never knew John to be anyways abusive & allways does his duty) had down there M D instenly struck him Mr. D is a man of a very moderate disposition & of an easey tember but if he tels a man to do a piece of work he certainly must go to it & there is not

one man on board ship but what likes him even John himself — only just now he has the divel in him (viz John) & wants his discharge which however he has no right to expect in the country but I shall consider of it — then up came the Carpenter he wanted his discharge I asked him for what he told me that Mr. Skerry (the cheif mate) & he could not agree that Mr Skerry had abused him & threatened him &c &c. Mr Skerry says that the carpenter abused him a day or two ago very much the carpenter in this case was very rong to risk such a thing because he is a small man & M^r Skerry is a stout & a strong man & when a man is eritated he may in a passion do what he would be sory for after I am very glad that M^r Skerry did not strike him because if he did once he would have repeated the blow & I think to some purpose but I think Mr S. is some times too hasty & there appears to be an antipathy between him & the carpenter which has been brewing this some time & if instead of interfearing with & doing things which the carpenter ought to do he would tel him to go & do so & so & see that he does it & that it is done well he would not have any trouble with him — the carpenter is a little man — & sometimes damn'd frachuous — but I think he is a good carpenter & allways does what ever I set him about — his request is reasonable viz he wishes me to give him his discharge with an order for his wages payable in Salem & he will find an other man in his room & I shall think of it & believe shall do it but if I do I shall be obliged (in part) to discharge J Jays allso & the chief mate has fell out with the carpenter — & the second with John if I do not there may be a jealousy between the mates which must not be in that case shall discharge them both John & the carpenter — I whent from the ship & dined with Capts Camel & Dobel (as they live together) there was several other gentlemen then we went & they had several games at Billiards Minot & a French Gentleman they played till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 — Minot & this french gentleman had left their palanquens to my house & of course I waited untill they wher ready to come away they came to my house but did not stay long — my seccars have weighed some more of the Iron — 593 bars weighing 323 Ct. 1 s 6 £ English which is factory mounds —

484: 38S 4C — sold as per Saturday last — my Banian has had a great maney black Merchants here today but done nothing only made a great deel of noise packed no goods today over hauled some but they where not equal to muster of course they where refused & others that was agreed for yesterday another man brought of the same at a lower price therefore my Banian said he had been deceived & would not take that he bought first so there was such a terrible noise made we could not hear ourselves speak all talking at once & witnesses brought from all parts of the territories but my Banian got the better after all — but still it might have been all a sham — Fairlie Gilmore & Co.s seccar has given to my Banian 8000 SR (insted of 10,000) the other he has promised to give tomorrow —

Thursday 4: the Carpenters son came this morning & told me his father sent him to tel me that the hulk would certainly be alongside the ship tomorrow & he wanted the copper sent down to the yard that he might punch it & have it all ready that there may be nothing wanted when we come to heave the ship out — I told the seccar to send it down as he has bought for me 36 sheets weighing factory 5m Os 4c. mounds 50 — (& 1 mound Basah Nailes @55) Mr Donaldson came & here brought & introduced me to a Mr Beaumare who has an invoice of piece goods he wants to sell me for my cotton I gave him musters of the cotton he is to call the day after tomorrow then I shall know if we can be able to trade together or not — Capt Lawson came to see me he told me he had an Invoice of tafities, twills & Bandannas & Choppa romals with a number of bale of chinces of different sorts — that he would sell me cheap I went with him to there godown & looked at some of the musters which I thought would answer our market very well I told him if he would send me the invoice & muster that I might examine them I would let him know in a day or two he said he would — I went to see Capt Jackson who I found quite unwell with the gout did not stay long Donnaldson & myself went on board my ship Mr Skerry told me that yesterday J Jays jumped overboard being as he said drunk & they did but just save him & when they took him up & brought him on board he had several fits but soon came too I saw him & he appeared to me to be

much better than when I saw him last & soberer & more rational they have the ship all ready now & as the hulk is certainly to be a long side tomorrow we must work brisk & have her out of the carpenters hand as fast as possible & made the expences as low as we can I fear it will be large enough to make the best we can of it — from my ship we went on board Jacksons ship *John* — Donnalldson's father is the owner of her — we did not stay long & came on shore I came home & found that Capt Lawson had sent the Invoice & musters & I find the silk goods to be of a superior quality he bought them at the Company public outcry & they are cheaper than I can buy from the barah these I think I shall take & some of the chintses which are reasonable & some are dear however I shall examine them on the morrow then shall be able to give him an answer — a good many black people to my house today overhauling & packing &c &c. but appears to be more noise than work a good many goods refused & a dispute about the price of some agreed for some days ago which my banian says he can buy which I find he don't stand to his word in that respect more than the rest of the blacks — they have or will by night finish packing some good checks — & blue Gilla handkerchiefs I dined with Jackson there was Campbell & Dobel and after dinner came Crowel who said he had been to my house & hearing of me here was one of the inducements for him to come see Jackson I tarried untill 8 & came home — yesterday J Johnson came & told me he was unwell & wished me to give him some money I told the seccar to do it — & for him to come on shore & live at the house & make the expence as little to him as possible he has come & sleeps here with J C Brandenburg — my Banian has packed today two bales of checks course cloths & two bales Chandernagore blue gill a handkerchiefs which made in all the bales packed (beside the one bales Pulicat Handkercheifs) Just sixty bales different kind goods — & of course different prices the canves I sent for the other day is now come 4 bolts of first & 10 of second quality it is tolerable good & will answer extreamly well so shift into half worn sails & I find that my brother Benj^a had topsails made of the first sort for his ship of 550 tons — of course he must have a good oppinion of it & I have so

too & shall use it — weighed some more of my Iron today 657 bars and it weighs 277 Ct. 1 Gr. 16-£. english which is Factory mound 416:3 s, 8c — sold as per saturday last — came from M^r Miller 3 certificates for us 3 to sign (besides the Carpenters) who was on the cervey of the *Three Sisters* like the first in every respect except these mentions that in case the ship appears to be strained then to take off the copper & sheeth her which the carpenters will be very fond of doing however it may be necessary to take all the copper of & in that case it would be cheaper to sheeth her then to copper her — I expect that a good deal of the copper is off of my ships bottom & there is a good deel off between the bends & light water mark & it is probably it is generally the same lower down — I fear so if she was sheethed under the copper I would not go to the trouble to heave her out but as she is not I must however expensive it may bee. it is a durty job & a troublesome —

Friday 5: airly in the morning the hulk came along-side ship but M^r Barber said that it would be emposible to muster the people to do any thing & if we did they would not be able to do one hours work & should be obliged to pay for one day we thought it best to put it off untill the morrow & begin airly — Capt Campbell & Doctor Kelly came to see me I invited them to dine with me tomorrow Capt Lawson came here but went away saying he would call again seeing me very buisy Kelly & Campbell went away Capt Young came here but did not stay long — Capt Lawson came again I bought from an Invoice of Chinces in 10 bales of excellent goods & two trunks of twill'd bandanas & chopparomals — the invoice allmost 6,000 sacco Rup which sum I gave him an Order on Fairlie Gilmore & Co. at 30 days I having considerable property in there hands — Messrs. Fairlie Gilmore & Co. paid to my Banian the 2,000 Rupees due from the order of 10,000 I drew a few days past — & likewise they have paid to my Banian 20,000 sacca Rupees I drew on them this day which is but right as I placed the money in their hands that I might take it out when I pleased. In a few days I shall draw for more & they will pay it I think.

(To be continued)

SUBSCRIPTION FOR REBUILDING THE DODGE MILLS IN HAMILTON

Ipswich, December 20, 1822.

Gentlemen :

WE the subscribers, a committee appointed at a meeting of a number of the inhabitants of Ipswich and Hamilton, beg leave to call the attention of the public to the great loss sustained by our worthy fellow citizen, capt. David Dodge, of Hamilton, in the destruction of his valuable mills and machinery, on Ipswich river, by fire, on the 25th instant.

The loss sustained by this calamitous event cannot on a moderate calculation be estimated at less than from 4000 to 5000 dollars; and, if any value can be set on the embarrassment of his affairs arising from a total loss of his principal means of support for himself and his family, the last mentioned sum will, by those who best can judge, be considered as falling below the actual injury occasioned by this dreadful calamity.

But we mean not to despond. The evil is not so great as it might have been. Had this happened in the night time probably all human means would have been unavailing to preserve any one of the buildings of the whole neighborhood on both sides of the river. And, though the destruction of property is great, and falls with peculiar severity in this instance on an individual, we still have great cause of gratitude to an indulgent Providence, that no human life was lost on this distressing occasion.

We do not know that capt. Dodge is by this event reduced to absolute poverty; we hope he is not. Still he has suffered a loss of such a nature as entirely to disconcert and embarrass him in all his concerns. In one hour his means of subsistence are taken from him. To attempt to repair his loss without gratuitous assistance from others would necessarily involve him in pecuniary embarrassments as hard to be sustained perhaps as his present calamity. But he must not lie still; his active and enterprising spirit must be encouraged; and we trust that the hand of charity will be extended toward him in this season of misfortune, so as to enable him to recover in some good degree

from the troubles with which a wise but unsearchable Providence has seen fit to visit him.

We have the fullest confidence, Gentlemen, that your contributions for the relief of capt. Dodge will not be ill bestowed; we can safely recommend him to the public as a man of industry and enterprise, of great mechanical skill, and of correct habits and manners; as one who has been and continues to be highly esteemed and respected, as a good neighbor, a valuable townsman, and a very useful member of society.

But the present is not a loss to an individual only. The great conveniences arising to a large circle from this valuable establishment are by this event lost. It is well known to all, that a great part of the community have an interest in the support and good management of an establishment like this. A corn mill, a cob mill, an oil mill, a saw mill, a turning machine, and manufacturing works, a nail machine, two carding machines, and other valuable works, are wholly destroyed. Permit us to hope, Gentlemen, that we do not call in vain for some substantial proof of public sympathy in the present instance; and, whatever may be given, we would humbly trust, will be twice blessed, by "blessing him who gives and him who takes."

Any donations transmitted to any one of the subscribers will be gratefully received, and faithfully appropriated to the purpose for which they are bestowed. Labor and materials for building, from those who find it more convenient to contribute in either of these modes, will be very acceptable.

We are, with great respect, Gentlemen,
Your most obedient, humble servants,

NATH'L LORD, jun.	} of Ipswich	} Committee
JOHN CHOATE		
TEMPLE CUTLER	} of Hamilton	
ENOCH FAULKNER		
AZOR BROWN		

Printed at the Gazette Office, Salem,

— *Miscellaneous Mss., Essex Institute.*

MARRIAGE CONTRACT, 1714, BETWEEN
WILLIAM MOODY OF NEWBURY AND
ABIGAIL FRYER OF BERWICK

This Indenture tripartite made and concluded this Ninth day of December 1714 Annoque Rⁱ R^s Georgij Magn Brittan. &c Primo Between William Moody of Newbury in the County of Essex and Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England Gent. of the first part, Abigail Fryer of Berwick in the County of York and Province aforesaid Widow of the second part and Steph^a Sewall of Salem in the County of Essex Esq^r & Jerem^a Wise of Berwick in the County of York on the third part Witnesseth That whereas a Treaty of Marriage has been had and agreed on and Intended by Gods Grace shortly to be solemnized and Consummated betwixt the said William Moodey and Abigail Fryer. It is Covenanted and Granted by and betwixt the said Partys as follows That is to say, In case the said Marriage take Effect, the said Abigail on her part doth Grant consent and agree that the said William shall be Entitled to have and Receive to his own proper use and Behoofe for ever, the sum of one hundred pounds in money of her Estate She to have and retain in her own Power all the Remainder of her own and the Estate of her former Husband Joshua Fryer and the full and free Disposition and Bestowment thereof according to her own good Pleasure at her decease, by her last Will and Testament or otherwise, her Coverture notwithstanding alwayes securing and fully discharging the said William Moodey his Execu^{rs} and Admin^{rs} of and from all Debts of her said former husband Fryer and her own Debts contracted in her Widdowhood if any appear or shall be demanded.

And the said William Moodey for himselfe doth accept the hundred Pounds aforementioned in Lieu of all Pretension Right Title Claim or Demand to be had or made by him his Heirs Execu^{rs} or Admin^{rs} of in or to the further Estate of the said Abigail or her said former husband, he his heirs &c being alwayes secured and defended against all Debts as aforesaid And doth further Covenant Grant and Agree to and with the said Stephen Sewall and Jere-

miah Wise Trustees for and in behalfe of the said Abigail their Execu^{rs} and Admin^{rs} That she the said Abigail shall have full Power and Authority at any time or times during her Coverture and that notwithstanding, in and by her last Will and Testament or other Instrument in writing to be by her Executed in the presence of two or more credible Witnesses to give bestow and Imploy according to her good Pleasure, at her decease all and singular her own, and Remaining Goods and Estate of her said former husband and that such will or other Writing by her Executed shall be of the same force and Effort as if she had been sole and unmarried.

And the said William doth further Covenant Grant and Agree to and with the said Trustees their Execu^{rs} and Admin^{rs} That if it happen the said Abigail, to survive and outlive him the said William, she shall have and Enjoy to her own use and behoofe the best lower Room in his the said Williams present dwelling House in Newbury aforesaid with the Chamber over it and that part of the Cellar underneath those Rooms and that his heirs Execu^{rs} and Admin^{rs} shall provide and supply her with Ten Cords of good fire wood yearly to be laid down at the Door and a good milch cow to be well kept Winter and Summer and also pay to her the sum of Eight pounds in money or good Lawful Bills of Public Credit p annum during her Widowhood bearing the name of Moodey, But if the said Abigail shall Intermarry, then to pay to her or her order, at the now dwelling House of the said William Moodey, the sum of Ten pounds P annum in money or good and Lawful Bills of credit as aforesaid during her natural life in Lieu of all the Provision made for her as aforesaid which is accepted by her and on her behalfe accordingly.

In witness whereof the Parties to these present have interchangeably set their hands and Seals the day and year first within written. Mem. It is agreed and so to be understood that the provision made for the s^d Abigail as above, is in full of all her Dower or thirds in y^e Estate of y^e s^d William Moodey.

Signed Sealed and Deliv^d

in presence of Us —

the words (in the county of

York Clerk) first interlined,

as also the word (Heirs) was

Interlined, between the Seventh

and Eight Line, from the bottom

in y^e second page — John Croade.

Humphrey Chadbourn

Essex Decmb. 30 da. 1714

The within named M^r William Moodey and M^s Abigail Fryer Personally appearing acknowledge the within written Instrument to be their voluntary act and Deed before me John Dummer

Jus. Peace.

The Memoradum Respecting my Right of Dower not being inserted as entered before signing and sealing, I do now acknowledg it was don before and I do now fully relinquish any right or title to my dowry or thirds as above entered upon the condition then agreed upon.

Essex Newbury Nov^r 19th 1718

Abigail Moodey

M^{rs} Abigail Moodey personally appeared before me the subscriber and did prsly acknowldge she had given up her right of Dower or thirds before signing and sealing y^e above instrument upon the (. . . illegible)

Anthony Somerby

Justice of the Peace.

Sept^r 1716. Received the within hundred pounds P me.

William Moodey

novm^r 14 — 1718 I oblige for myselfe and Atoy^{ns} that what my wife Abigail Moodey acknowledged before Justis Somerby shall no wais hinder her of what I have given her in this writing made before marrage or what I may any wais give her as Witnes my hand and seal

Sarah Dummer

William Moodey

Benj. Peirce

witnesses

Essex Novem. the 14 day 1718

The said William Moodey acknowledged this above wright-in memorandum to be his act and Deed before me.

John Dummer J. Pec.

— *Essex Institute, Coffin Mss., 1677-1777, p. 63.*

BOOK REVIEWS

WOODROW WILSON AND THE GREAT BETRAYAL. By Thomas A. Bailey. 1945. 429 pp. octavo, cloth, illus. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, \$3.50.

The author of this thought-provoking book is Professor of History at Stanford University. He depicts the drama of 1919 and 1920 when the League of Nations was so bitterly opposed in the Congress of the United States as to bring about its utter defeat, thereby laying the foundation of the second world war. Lodge has been blamed for its defeat but Professor Bailey is very fair in his judgments and he does not "pick the corpse of Lodge nor whiten the tomb of Wilson." He thinks it took more than one man to defeat the program of Wilson, and is very free to admit that the latter's tactlessness and stubbornness had much to do with our colossal failure. Mankind, if it moves forward at all, must demand not what is ideally desirable but what is practically attainable. The twenty-four cartoons taken from contemporary newspapers add much to the enjoyment of the book. The queries, who killed the League of Nations, why did we abandon Europe, what resulted in this Great Betrayal and how did we pave the way for Hitler, are answered very fully in this volume. Strongly recommended to all libraries.

BIG BUSINESS IN A DEMOCRACY. By James Truslow Adams. 1945. 291 pp. small octavo, cloth. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, \$2.75.

This new book of Mr. Adams, just off the press, has some very concrete things to say about American Big Business. which is new and unique, and should be studied from a new and different standpoint. He has taken General Motors as an example, which he has analyzed in its various ramifications, and whose peace time as well as war time activities have had world influence. Mr. Adams states that "to regard American big business as merely an offshoot of capitalism working on a certain scale round the world seemed to me, as I studied the problem, to miss the point." He considers it as a function of American democratic conditions, and prophesies that perhaps big business is, after all, the Mount Ararat on which the ark of free civilization is to rest after the world flood. The book is in Mr. Adams' best style and every page is of great interest to all Americans. Recommended to all libraries.

CHINA ENTERS THE MACHINE AGE. By Kuo-Heng Shih. Translated by Hsiao-tung Fei and Francis L. K. Hsu. 1944. 24+206 pp. small octavo, cloth. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. Price, \$2.50.

This is the first intensive study of a factory in Free China and the effects of the transfer of peasants from farms to factories. In the description of conditions and problems of the factory workers in China new light has been thrown on the general problem of the industrial development of China and its transition from an economy that has been mainly agricultural. It is a study of a government-owned and operated factory, engaged largely in war production in Free China, and shows what progressive ideas are being used in that country. Recommended to all libraries, and especially to all interested in business in the Orient.

PLURAL OFFICE-HOLDING IN MASSACHUSETTS, 1760-1780. Its Relation to the "Separation" of Department of Government. By Ellen E. Brennan. 1945. 227 pp. octavo cloth. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. Price, \$3.00

The author's purpose in this study is to show the separation of departments in the latter part of the colonial period which culminated in the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780. John Adams explained plural office-holding when he wrote, in 1765, "Has not his Honor the Lieut. Governor . . . grasped four of the most important offices . . . into his own hands? Has not the Lieut. Governor a brother, a Judge of the pleas in Boston, and namesake and new relation who is register of his own court of probate, a deputy-secretary? Has he not another new relation who is Clerk of the House of Representatives?" Miss Brennan has done a remarkably good job and a very thorough piece of research work which cannot be too highly praised. She is a member of the faculty of Hunter College. Recommended to all libraries.

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